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THE HISTORY OF HERESIES,

AND

THEIR REFUTATION.

THE

HISTORY OF HERESIES,

AND

THEIR REFUTATION;

OR,

THE TRIUMPH OF THE CHURCH.

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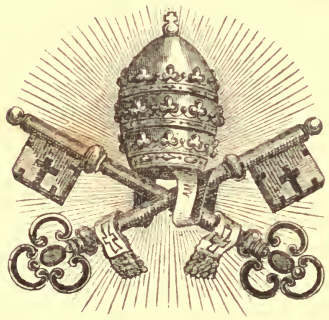
ST. ALPHONSUS M. LIGUORI,

BY THE REV. JOHN T. MULLOCK,

OF THE ORDER OF ST. FRANCIS.

IN TWO VOLS.—VOL. II.

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THE

HISTORY OF HERESIES

AND

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CHAPTER XII.

THE HERESIES OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY—(CONTINUED).

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THE SCHISM OF ENGLAND.

§ I.

THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII.

1.–Religion of England previous to the Reformation. 2.–Henry VIII. marries Catherine of Arragon, but becomes enamoured of Anna Boleyn. 3.–The wicked Wolsey suggests the invalidity of the marriage.—Incontinence of Anna Boleyn; suspicion that she was the daughter of Henry. 4.–Calvin refuses to have his cause tried by English Judges; Wolsey is made prisoner, and dies at Leicester. 5.–Henry seizes on the property of the Church, and marries Anna Boleyn. 6.–He obliges the Clergy to swear obedience to him, and Cranmer declares the marriage of Catherine invalid. 7.–The Pope declares Anna Boleyn's marriage invalid, and excommunicates Henry, who declares himself Head of the Church. 8.–He persecutes Pole, and puts More and Fisher to death. 9.–The Pope declares Henry unworthy of the kingdom; the King puts Anna Boleyn to death, and marries Jane Seymour. 10.–The Parliament decides on six Articles of Faith; the bones of St. Thomas of Canterbury are burned; Jane Seymour dies in giving birth to Edward VI. 11.–The Pope endeavours to bring Henry to a sense of his duty, but does not succeed. 12.–He marries Anne of Cleves; Cromwell is put to death. 13.–Henry marries Catherine Howard, whom he afterwards put to death, and then marries Catherine Parr. 14.–His remorse in his last sickness. 15.–He makes his will, and dies.

1.—The history of England cannot be read without tears, when we see that nation, formerly the most zealous in Europe for Catholicity, now become its persecuting enemy. Who will

not be touched with sorrow to see a kingdom, so attached to the Faith, that it was called the Land of Saints, now buried in heresy? Fifteen English Kings, and eleven Queens, renounced the world and became religious in different Convents. Twelve Kings were Martyrs, and ten have been placed in the catalogue of the Saints. It is said that previous to the schism there was not a village in England which had not a Patron Saint born on the spot. How dreadful it is to behold this land the abode of schism and heresy (1). England, it is said, received the Faith of Christ in the time of Tiberius Cæsar. Joseph of Arimethea (2), Sanders says, with twelve of his disciples, were the first to introduce Christianity into the country which, in the time of Pope Eleutherius had spread so much, that at the request of King Lucius he sent them Fugacius and Damian, who baptized the King and many of his subjects, and, having cast down the idols, consecrated many churches, and established several Bishoprics. England remained firm in the Faith in the time of Diocletian, and there were many martyrs there during his reign. Christianity increased very much during the reign of Constantine, and though many fell away into the errors of Arius and Pelagius, they were converted again to the true Faith by the preaching of St. Germain and St. Lupus, who came from France for that purpose. About the year 596, Religion was almost lost by the Saxon conquest, but St. Gregory sent over St. Austin and forty Benedictine Monks, who converted the whole Anglo-Saxon nation, and they were remarkable, for nearly a thousand years after, for their zeal for the Faith and their veneration for the Holy See. During all this long period there were no Sovereigns in Christendom more obedient to the See of Rome than those of England. In the year 1212, King John and the Barons of the kingdom made England feudatory to the Holy See, holding the kingdoms of England and Ireland as fiefs from the Pope, and paying a thousand marks every year on the feast of St. Michael, and Peter's Pence, according to the number of hearths in these kingdoms, which was first promised by King Ina, in the year 740, augmented by King Etholf, and paid up to the twenty-fifth year of Henry's reign, when he separated him-

(1) Jovet. Storia delle Relig. *t.* 2, dal. prin.; Gotti, Ver. Re. *c.* 113, *s.* 1.

(2) Sand. de Schism. Anglic. in Pre

self from the obedience of the Holy See. Many Provincial Councils were held in England during these centuries likewise, for the establishment of Ecclesiastical discipline, which was always observed till Henry's reign, when, to satisfy a debasing passion for a wicked woman, he plunged himself into a whirlpool of crimes, and involved the nation in his ruin, and thus this unfortunate country, the glory of the Church, became a sink of wickedness and impiety.

12.—You shall now hear the cause of England's ruin. In the year 1501, Henry VII. married his eldest son, Arthur, to Catherine of Arragon (3), daughter of his Catholic Majesty Ferdinand, but the Prince died before the consummation of the matrimony; she was then married to his second son, Henry VIII., by a dispensation of Julius II., with the intention of preserving the peace with Spain, and had five children by him. Before we proceed, however, it will be right to learn that Henry was so much attached to the Catholic Religion that when it was attacked by Luther he persecuted his followers to death, and caused all his books to be burned one day in his presence by the public executioner, and had a sermon preached on the occasion by John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester. He then published a work defending the doctrines of Faith in the seven Sacraments, in opposition to Luther, though some say the book was composed by Fisher of Rochester, and dedicated it to Leo X., who honoured him on the occasion with the title of Defender of the Faith (4). Blind to every thing, however, but his love for Anna Boleyn, he began to hold his wife, Queen Catherine, in the greatest aversion, though she was twenty-five years married to him (5). She was five or six years older than Henry, but Anna Boleyn was considered the most beautiful woman in England, and when she saw the impression she made on the King's heart, she refused to see him any more unless he married her. Henry was of that disposition that the more he was thwarted in any wish the more obstinate he became in gratifying it, though having once obtained his object despised it; and seeing that he never could enjoy Anna Boleyn's favour unless by marrying her, he resolved on the step, let it cost

(3) Gotti, *c.* 113, *s.* 2, *n.* 1, 2; Herm. Hist. Conc. *c.* 166.
(4) Gotti, loc. cit. *n.* 2.
(5) Bossuet, His. des Variat. *t.* 2, *l.* 7, *n.* 1.

what it may. It was this determination that involved England in ruin.

3.—It was England's misfortune at that period to be almost governed by Thomas Wolsey, a man of low birth, but whose intriguing disposition made him such a favourite with Henry that he was elevated not only to the Archbishopric of York, but was made Lord Chancellor of the kingdom, and Cardinal (6). This unprincipled flatterer, seeing the King disgusted with Catherine, his Queen, advised him to apply for a divorce, and encouraged his scruples (if he had any), telling him his marriage never could be legalised, as Catherine was his brother's wife. This objection, however, never could stand, for Henry had the Pope's dispensation to marry Catherine (7); the case was maturely examined at Rome, and the impediment that existed was not imposed by the Divine Law, but was merely a Canonical one. That is proved by the Scripture, for we learn from Genesis, xxxviii, that the Patriarch Juda made his second son, Onan, marry Thamar, the wife of his elder brother, who died without children; and in the Mosaic Law there was a precept obliging the younger brother to take his elder brother's widow to wife if he had died without leaving children: "When brethren dwell together, and one of them died without children, the wife of the deceased shall not marry to another, but his brother shall take her, and raise up seed for his brother" (Deut. xxv, 5). What, therefore, was not only permitted but commanded by the Old Law, never could be contrary to the Law of nature. Neither is the prohibition of Leviticus, xviii, 16, to be taken into account, for that applies only to the case that the deceased brother has left children, and not, as in the former case, where he died childless, for then the brother is commanded to marry the widow, that his dead brother's name should not be lost in Israel. There is, then, not the least doubt but the dispensation of the Pope and the marriage of Henry were both valid. Bossuet, in his History of the Variations (8), tells, us that Henry having asked the opinion of the Sorbonne as to the validity of his marriage, forty-five doctors gave their opinion that it was valid, and fifty-three were of the

(6) Nat. Alex. Hist. *t.* 19, *c.* 13, *a.* 3, *n.* 1; Gotti, *c.* 213, *s.* 2, *n.* 6.

(7) Gotti, *s.* 2, *n.* 3.

(8) Boss. al. cit. *l.* 7, *n.* 61.

contrary opinion, but Molineaux says that all these votes were purchased on the occasion. Henry even wrote to the Lutheran Doctors in Germany, but Melancthon, having consulted others, answered him that the law prohibiting a man to marry his brother's wife could be dispensed with, and that his marriage with Catherine was, therefore, valid. This answer was far from being agreeable to Henry, so he held on to Wolsey's opinion, and determined to marry Anna Boleyn. It has been said that this lady was even Henry's own daughter, and it is said that her father, who was ambassador in France at the time, came post to England (9) when he heard of the affair, and told Henry that his wife confessed to him that Anna was Henry's daughter, but Henry made him, it is said, a rude answer, told him to go back to his place, and hold his tongue, and that he was determined to marry her. It is also said, that, from the age of fifteen, Anna was of bad character, and that, during her residence in France her conduct was so depraved that she was called usually by an improper name (10).

4.—Henry was fully determined to marry this unfortunate woman (11), so he sent to Rome to demand of the Pope to appoint Cardinal Campeggio and Cardinal Wolsey to try the case of the divorce. The Pope consented, but the Queen appealed against these Prelates as judges, one of them being the King's subject, and the other under obligations to him. Notwithstanding the appeal, the cause was tried in England, and Henry was in the greatest hurry to have it decided, being certain of a favourable issue for himself, as one of the judges was Wolsey, the prime mover of the case. Wolsey, however, was now afraid of the tempest he raised, which portended the ruin of religion, so he and Campeggio tried every means to avoid coming to a decision, seeing the dreadful scandal it would cause if they gave a decision in the King's favour, and dreading his displeasure if they decided against him. The Pope admitted the justice of the Queen's appeal (12), and prohibited the Cardinal Legates from proceeding with the cause, which he transferred to his own

(9) Floremund, *l.* 6, Synop. *c.* 2, *n.* 2; Gotti, *c.* 113, *s.* 2, *n.* 8, 9, 10; Nat. Alex. loc. cit. *n.* 1.
(10) Gotti, *n.* 9.
(11) Nat. Alex. cit. *n.* 1, Varillas 1st. *t.* 1, *l.* 9, *p.* 412.
(12) Nat. Alex. *t.* 19, *art. c*, *n.* 2.

tribunal. Henry then sent Cranmer to Rome to look after his interests. This man was a Priest, but of immoral life, and had privately embraced the Lutheran doctrines, and he was indebted to Anna Boleyn for the King's favour. Henry likewise endeavoured to draw to his party Reginald Pole and Thomas More; but these were men of too much religion to yield to him. To frighten the Pope into compliance with his wishes, he prohibited, under the severest penalties, any of his subjects from applying for any favour or grace to Rome, without first obtaining his consent. God made use of Henry as an instrument to punish Wolsey now for his crimes. The King was furious with him, because he did not expedite the sentence in his favour, so he deprived him of the Bishopric of Winchester (though this is doubtful), and the Chancellorship, and banished him to his See of York. He lived some time at Cawood, in Yorkshire, and made himself very popular in the neighbourhood by his splendid hospitality. Henry gave an order for his arrest, and commanded that he should be brought to London, but he suffered so much on the journey, both in mind and body, that, before he could arrive, he died at Leicester, in the month of December, 1530. A report was sent abroad that he poisoned himself, but the fact is, that, when he found he was accused of high treason, his heart broke. "Had I served God," said he, "as faithfully as I served the King, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs" (13).

5.—In the meantime, Cranmer wrote from Rome that he found it impossible to get the Pope to consent to the divorce, so he was recalled by Henry (14), and went to Germany, where he married Osiander's sister or niece (15); and on the death of William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, was appointed to that See, but with the express condition of doing what the Pope refused—pronouncing a sentence of divorce between Henry and Catherine (16). When Henry found that the Ecclesiastics of the kingdom took up Catherine's side, he determined to punish some of them, and prosecuted them on a *præmunire*, for preferring the Legatine to the Royal authority. The Clergy,

(13) Gotti, *c.* 113, *sec.* 2, *n.* 13, in fin. & Nat. Alex. loc. cit. *n.* 2.
(14) Jovet, *t.* 2, *p.* 29; Gotti, *sec.* 2, *n.* 14.
(15) Bossuet *l.* 7, *n.* 9.
(16) Nat. Alex. *t.* 19, *c.* 13, *a.* 3, *n.* 2; Gotti, loc. cit.

terrified at this proceeding, and having now no one to recur to, offered the king 400,000 crowns to compromise the matter, and admitted his sovereign power in the realm, both over the Clergy and laity. Thomas More (17), seeing the ruin of England at hand, resigned the Chancellorship to the King, who accepted his resignation, and appointed Thomas Audley, a man of little means, in his place. Pope Clement VII., seeing what imminent danger the kingdom ran, from the blind admiration the King professed for Anna Boleyn, endeavoured to save it, by prohibiting him, under pain of excommunication, from contracting a new marriage till the question of divorce was settled (18). This prohibition only exasperated Henry the more, so, despising both the admonitions and censures of the Pope, he was privately married to Anna Boleyn, before the break of day, in the month of December, 1532, having previously created her Countess of Pembroke (19). Roland Lee was the officiating Priest, and it is believed by some that Henry deceived him, telling him he had the Pope's leave for marrying again.

6.—Thomas Cromwell (20), under favour of Queen Anna, was now advanced to the highest honours. He was a man of the greatest cunning, and the most unbounded ambition, and a follower of the Lutheran doctrine. Henry made him Knight of the Garter, Grand Chamberlain of the Kingdom, Keeper of the Privy Seal, and made him also his Vicar-General for Ecclesiastical affairs (21), which he entirely managed as he pleased, in conjunction with Archbishop Cranmer and the Chancellor Audley. He obliged Ecclesiastics to take an oath of obedience in spirituals to the King, paying him the same obedience as they previously did the Pope. Every means was used to induce John Fisher, the Bishop of Rochester, to take this oath, which he at first refused to do, but at last consented, adding, as a condition, "inasmuch as it was not opposed to the Divine Word." When this pillar of the Church fell, it was not difficult to induce the rest of the Clergy to take the oath. Cranmer was now ready to fulfil his part of the agreement made with Henry; he accor-

(17) Gotti, *c.* 113, *sec.* 2, *n.* 15.
(18) Nat. Alex. *t.* 19, *c.* 13, *a.* 3, *n.* 3.
(19) Gotti, *sec.* 2, *n.* 16; Varillas, *t.* 1, *l.* 9, *n.* 420.
(20) Gotti, *sec.* 2, *n.* 17.
(21) Nat. Alex. loc. cit. *n.* 3; Gotti, loc. cit.

dingly pronounced his marriage with Catherine opposed to the Divine law, and declared him at liberty to marry any other woman, and, on the strength of this declaration, Henry was solemnly married to Anne on the 13th of April, 1533 (22).

7.—Pope Clement VII. now saw that there was no longer any use in mild measures, and was determined to act with extreme severity. He, accordingly, declared the marriage with Anna invalid; the issue, either present or future, illegitimate; and restored Queen Catherine to her conjugal and royal rights (23). He likewise declared Henry excommunicated for his disobedience to the Holy See, but this sentence was not to be enforced for a month, to give him time for repentance. So far from showing any signs of change, Henry prohibited, under the severest penalties, any one from giving the title of Queen to Catherine, or styling Mary heiress to the kingdom, though she had been already proclaimed as such by the estates of the Realm. He declared her illegitimate, and sent her to live with her mother Catherine, appointing a certain fixed place for their residence, and employing about them a set of spies, or guards, rather than servants (24). In the meantime, Anna Boleyn had a daughter, Elizabeth, born on the 7th of September, five months after her solemn marriage, and Henry continued his persecution of the Catholics, by sending to prison Bishop Fisher, Sir Thomas More, and two hundred Observantine Friars of the Order of St. Francis; and in the parliament convoked on the 3rd of November, 1534, a bill was passed in both houses, declaring Mary, the daughter of Catherine, excluded from the succession, and recognizing Elizabeth, Anna's daughter, as heiress to the throne. The power of the Pope in England and Ireland was rejected at the same time, and whoever professed to believe in the primacy of the Holy See was declared a rebel. He assumed an authority over the Bishops of the kingdom greater than the Pope ever possessed, for he granted them their powers as if they were secular magistrates, only till he wished to revoke them, and it was only by his authority they were allowed to ordain Priests or publish censures. Finally, it was decreed that the King was the supreme head of

(22) Nat. Alex. loc. cit.; Gotti, *c.* 113, *sec.* 2, *n.* 18; Bossuet, Variat. *l.* 7, *n.* 21.

(23) Nat. Alex. *art.* 3, *n.* 4; Gotti, *sec.* 2, *n.* 20.

(24) Gotti, loc. cit.

the Church of England; that to him alone it belonged to extirpate heresies and correct abuses, and that to him, by right, belonged all tithes and first-fruits. The name of the Pope was expunged from the Liturgy, and among the petitions of the Litany the following was sacrilegiously inserted: "From the tyranny and detestable enormities of the Bishop of Rome deliver us, O Lord" (25).

8.—Henry knew that his assumption of the primacy was condemned, not alone by Catholics, but even by Luther and Calvin, so he gave orders that it should be defended by theologians in their writings, and many complied with this command, some willingly, and others were forced to it. He was desirous that his relative, Reginald Pole, should publish something in favour of it, but he not alone most firmly refused to prostitute his pen to such a purpose, but wrote four books, "De Unione Ecclesiastica," in opposition to the pretended right, which so provoked the tyrant, that he declared him guilty of high treason, and a traitor to his country, and tried to get him into his power, to put him to death, and when he could not accomplish his wish, he had his mother, his brother, and his uncle executed, and this noble family was almost destroyed and brought to ruin. He, for the same reason, commenced a most dreadful persecution of the Friars, especially the Franciscans, Carthusians, and Brigittines, many of whom he put to death (26), besides Bishop Fisher and Thomas More, whom he sent to execution in the year 1534 (27). While Bishop Fisher was in prison, he was appointed Cardinal by Paul III., which, when Henry heard, he at once had him condemned to death. It is related of this holy Bishop, that when he was about to be brought to the place of execution, he dressed himself in the best clothes he could procure, as that was, he said, the day of his marriage, and as, on account of his age and his sufferings in prison, he was so weak, that he was obliged to lean on a staff, when he came in sight of the scaffold he cast it away, and cried out: "Now, my feet, do your duty, you have now but a little way to carry me." When he mounted the scaffold he entoned the *Te Deum*, and thanked the

(25) Nat. Alex. *t.* 19, *c.* 13, *a.* 3, *n.* 5; Gotti, *c.* 113, *sec.* 2, *n.* 21.

(26) Gotti, *n.* 22; Nat. Alex. loc. cit. *n.* 5.

(27) Bossuet His. *l.* 7, *n.* 11.

Almighty for permitting him to die for the Faith; he then laid his head on the block. His head was exposed on London Bridge, and it is said appeared quite florid, and more like the head of a living than a dead person, so that it was ordered to be taken down again (28). Sir Thomas More also died a glorious death. When he heard that the Bishop of Rochester was condemned to death, he exclaimed: "O Lord, I am unworthy of such glory, but I hope thou wilt render me worthy." His wife came to the prison to induce him to yield to the King's wishes, but he refused, and after fourteen months' confinement he was brought to trial, but never swerved, and was condemned to lose his head. When about to mount the scaffold, he called to a man near him to assist him to climb the steps; "But when I am to come down, my friend," said he, "I will want no one to assist me." On the scaffold he protested before the people that he died for the Catholic Faith. He then most devotedly recited the *Miserere*, and laid his head on the block. His execution spread general grief all over England (29).

9.—When Paul III., the successor of Clement, was informed of the turn affairs had taken, he summoned Henry and all his accomplices to his tribunal, and in case of contumacy, fulminated the sentence of excommunication against him, but this was not published at the time, as there appeared still some hope that he would change his conduct; but all was in vain, he only every day involved himself more and more in crime. He now, as head of the Church, issued a commission to Cromwell, a layman, to visit the Convents, both male and female, in his dominions, to dismiss all Religious who were not twenty-four years of age, and to leave the others at liberty to go or stay, as they wished; this, it is said, though I believe not on sufficient foundation, threw ten thousand Religious back again into the world (30). About this time Queen Catherine died; she always bore her affliction with the greatest patience, and just before her death, wrote to the King in terms which would melt the hardest heart (31). The vengeance of the Almighty was now impending over Anna Boleyn, the first cause of so much misery and woe. Henry's affection

(28) Sand. *l.* 1, de Schis. Ang. *p.* 135; Gotti, *sec.* 2, *n.* 22.
(29) Sand. & Gotti, loc. cit. *n.* 23.
(30) Gotti, *c.* 113, *s.* 2, *n.* 24; Nat. Alex. *t.* 19, *c.* 13, *art.* 3, *n.* 6.
(31) Sander, *l.* 1, *p.* 107, 112; Gotti, *s.* 3, *n.* 25; Nat. Alex. loc. cit.

was now very much cooled towards her, especially as he became enamoured of one of her maids of honour, Jane Seymour. Anna still had some hopes of regaining his affection, by presenting him with a male heir, but in this she was disappointed, the child was still-born; then her misfortunes commenced; she was accused of incest with her brother, George Boleyn, and of criminal conversation with four other gentlemen of the Court. Henry refused at first to believe the charge, but his jealousy was raised, and his love for Jane Seymour contributing, likewise, to her ruin, she was committed to the Tower at once. Bossuet informs, us that Henry called on Cranmer to declare now, that his marriage with Anna was invalid from the beginning, and Elizabeth, his daughter, illegitimate, since Anna was married to him during the lifetime of Lord Percy, then Earl of Northumberland, between whom and Anna, it was asserted there was a contract of marriage. But this charge was unfounded; there was not even a promise between them; the only foundation for the assertion was, that Percy was at one time anxious to marry her; for all, she was condemned to death for adultery, and the sentence was, that she should be burned or beheaded, at the King's pleasure. She begged to be allowed to speak to the King, but was refused; all the favour she could obtain was, that she should be beheaded; this sentence was carried into execution, and her brother, likewise, and the four gentlemen accused of being her paramours, underwent the same fate. On the day of her execution, the lieutenant of the Tower remarked to her, by way of consolation, that she would not suffer much, as the executioner was very expert; she smilingly answered: "My neck is very slender." The day after, Henry married Jane Seymour (32).

10.—He again convoked Parliament on the 7th of June, 1536, and had the law passed in favour of Elizabeth, to the exclusion of Mary, daughter of Queen Catherine, repealed, and the six Articles were passed for the regulation of religious affairs in the kingdom. The First was, that the Transubstantiation of the bread into the body of Christ in the Eucharist, was an article of Faith. Second—That communion should be given under one kind. Third—That the Celibacy of the Clergy should be

(32)Varill. *l.* 9, *p.* 423; Gotti, *s.* 2, *n.* 26; Hermant, *c.* 266; Nat. Alex. cit. *n.* 6; Bossuet, Hist. *l.* 7, *n.* 21, 22, 23.

observed. Fourth—That the vow of chastity was binding. Fifth—That the celebration of the Mass was in conformity with the Divine Law, and that private Masses were not only useful, but necessary. Sixth — That auricular confession should be strictly practised. All these articles were confirmed by the King, and both houses, and the penalties imposed on heretics applied to all who would either believe or teach doctrines in opposition to them (33). The primacy of the King, however, was left intact, so Henry, using his new power, appointed Cromwell, though a mere layman, his Vicar-General in Spirituals for the entire kingdom, and ordained that he should preside at all the Synods of the Bishops (34). When Paul III. was informed of all these sacrilegious attempts on the integrity of Faith, and especially of the affair of St. Thomas of Canterbury, who was tried and condemned as a traitor to his country (35), and his sacred body disinterred, burned, and the ashes thrown into the Thames, he published a brief on the 1st of January, 1538, ordering that the sentence before passed against Henry should be published (36). It was, however, delayed on account of the melancholy death of Queen Jane, who died in childbirth, leaving Henry an heir, afterwards Edward VI., under whom the ruin of England was completed, as in his time, heresy was firmly rooted in the country. It is said (but the report does not rest, I believe, on a good foundation), that when Henry found that there was danger of the child being lost, he ordered an operation to be performed on the mother, saying he could get wives enough, but not heirs (37).

11.—On the death of Jane Seymour, Henry immediately began to look about for his fourth wife, and Paul III., hoping to bring him to a sense of his duty, wrote him a letter in which he told him of the sentence of excommunication hanging over him, which he did not promulgate, having still hopes that he would be reconciled with the Church; at the same time, he created Reginald Pole a Cardinal, and sent him to France as his Legate, that he might endeavour to arrange a marriage between Henry

(33) Bossuet Hist. *l.* 7, *n.* 33; Nat. Alex. *t.* 19, *art.* 3, *n.* 7; Gotti, *s.* 2, *art.* 27.
(34) Varill. *t.* 1, *l.* 12, *p.* 544.
(35) Varil. *t.* 1, *c.* 11, *p.* 515; Nat. Alex. loc. cit. *n.* 8.
(36) Gotti, *s.* 2, *n.* 23.
(37) Varil. *p.* 306; Nat. Alex. loc. cit.; Gotti, *s.* 2, *n.* 2.

and Margaret, the daughter of Francis I. of France. Cardinal Pole accordingly went to France, and arranged the matter with Francis, but Henry would not agree to it, and he wrote to Francis, telling him that Pole was a rebel, and requiring Francis to deliver him up to him. This Francis refused to do, but he told the Cardinal the danger he was in, and by his advice he quitted France. Henry, disappointed in his vengeance, laid a price of fifty thousand crowns on his head (38).

12.—Cromwell (not Oliver the President) now thought it a good opportunity to induce the King to take a wife on his recommendation, and bring him over to his own Religion, which was Lutheran (39). He then proposed as a wife to him Anne, daughter of the Duke of Cleves, head of one of the noblest families in Germany, sister of the Electress of Saxony. Anne had a great many good qualities which would fit her for a crown, but she was, unfortunately, a Lutheran, and her relations were the chiefs of the League of Smalcald. Of this League Henry was anxious to be admitted a member, but the Lutherans had not confidence in him, and he then imagined that by marrying a Lutheran Princess he would remove any difficulties which previously existed to his admission. The marriage was celebrated, to Henry's great joy, on the 3rd of January, 1540, and Cromwell was made High Chancellor on the occasion, and Earl of Essex. Henry was only seven months married when, as usual, he publicly declared himself discontented with his Queen, especially as she was a heretic, as if he could be called a Catholic. He now became enamoured of Catherine Howard, niece of the Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal of England, and one of the maids of honour to Queen Anne, and seeing no hopes of obtaining her favour unless he married her, he called on Cromwell to assist him now again to get divorced from Anne of Cleves. Cromwell had embarked his fortunes in the same boat with the Queen; he dreaded that her divorce would be the cause of his fall, and he refused most determinedly to have any hand in it. Henry, displeased with his obstinacy, eagerly sought an occasion to ruin him, and was not long in finding it. The chiefs of the Protestant League sent their agents to London to conclude with

(38) Varill. *l.* 11, *p*, 507, et seq. (39) Varill. *t.* 1, *l.* 12, *p.* 551

Henry the alliance he was before so desirous of, but as he was now determined to repudiate Anne, he had no longer any wish to league himself with the Lutherans, so he refused to treat with the agents; but Cromwell, confiding in his favour, took on himself to sign the treaty. Some say that Henry was privy to this act, but this is denied by others; however it was, the upshot of the affair was the disgrace of Cromwell, for when the Emperor loudly complained of the alliance, Henry swore that he had no cognizance of it. He sent for Cromwell one day, and in presence of many of the nobility, charged him publicly with signing a treaty for which he had no authority, and ordered him immediately to be conducted to the Tower. Cromwell begged hard for a public trial, to give him an opportunity of justifying his conduct in the affair, but as, independently of that charge, he was convicted of other crimes—heresy, peculation, and illegal impositions—he, who was the cause of so many Catholics being condemned without a hearing, was, by the just judgment of the Almighty, condemned himself, and was decapitated, quartered, and his property confiscated (40). Henry now had the Queen informed that unless she consented to a divorce he would have the laws against heretics put in force against her, she being a Lutheran. Dreading the fate that awaited her, from his known cruelty, and wishing to avoid also the shame of a public repudiation, she confessed, it is said, that previous to her marriage with the King she was promised to another; so Thomas Cranmer, who gave the sentence of divorce in the cases of Catherine and of Anna Boleyn, now for the third time pronounced a similar sensence. The decision was based on the greatest injustice, for the contract of marriage between Anne and the Duke of Lorraine, on which it was founded, took place while they were both children, and was never ratified. How, then, could Henry's solemn marriage be affected by this? But Cranmer, whom Burnet compares to St. Athanasius and St. Cyril, decided that it was null and void, merely to please Henry, who immediately married another. Queen Anne accepted a pension of £3,000 a-year, but never returned to Germany again (41).

(40) Varillas, *t.* 1, *l.* 12, *p.* 53; Nat. Alex. *c.* 23, *a.* 3, *n.* 7; Bossuet, *l.* 7, *n.* 34.

(41) Varill loc. cit. *p.* 575; Bossuet, loc. cit.

13. — Within a week Henry was married to Catherine Howard, who soon met the same fate as Anna Boleyn. She was charged before Parliament with dissolute conduct with two individuals, before her marriage, and with adultery since, and was condemned to be beheaded (42). Henry then got a law passed, the like of which was never before heard of, enacting it high treason for any lady to marry the King, if previously she had ever offended against chastity (43). He then married Catherine Parr, sister to the Earl of Essex (44); she survived him, but having married the brother of the Regent Somerset, Thomas Seymour, Lord High Admiral of England, who suffered death by the sentence of his own brother, she died of a broken heart.

14.—Death, at last, was about to put an end to Henry's crimes; he was now fifty-seven years of age, and had grown to such an enormous size that he could not almost pass through the doorway of his palace, and was obliged to be carried by servants up and down stairs (45). A deep-rooted sadness and remorse now seized him; all his crimes, sacrileges, and scandals stared him in the face. To establish the sacrilegious doctrine of his primacy over the English Church he had put to death two Cardinals, three Archbishops, eighteen Bishops and Archdeacons, five hundred priests, sixty Superiors of religious houses, fifty Canons, twenty-nine peers, three hundred and sixty-six knights, and an immense number both of the gentry and people. Ulcers in one of his legs, together with fever, now plainly told him that his end was nigh, and some writers assert that he then spoke to some of the Bishops of his intention of being again reconciled to the Church, but not one among them had the courage to tell him plainly the course he should take. All dreaded his anger; and none were willing to brave the danger of death, by plainly telling him that his only chance of salvation was to repent of his evil deeds—to repair the scandal he had given—and humbly return to the Church he had abandoned. No one was courageous enough to tell him this; one alone suggested to him that he ought to convoke parliament, as he had done when about to make the changes, to set things again to rights. He ordered, it is

(42) Gotti, *s.* 2, *n.* 29; Hermant, *t.* 2, *c.* 266; Nat. Alex. loc. cit. *n.* 7.
(43) Varill. loc. cit. *p.* 575.
(44) Varill. *t.* 2, *l.* 13, *n.* 575; Nat. Alex. *a.* 3, *n.* 7.
(45) Varill. *t.* 2, *l.* 16, *p.* 98.

said, the Secretaries of State to convoke it, but they feared they should be obliged to disgorge the plunder of the Church, and put off the convocation, and thus he left the Church in the greatest confusion; and soon, as we shall see, irreparable ruin overtook it (46).

15.—Just before Henry's death he opened a church belonging to the Franciscans, and had Mass again said in it (now Christ Church Hospital), but this was but little reparation for so much mischief. He then made his will, leaving his only son, Edward, heir to the throne, then only nine years of age, appointing sixteen guardians to him, ordering that he should be brought up in the Catholic Faith, but never resign the primacy of the English Church, so that he was unchanged even in death. In case that Edward died without issue, he left the crown to Mary, daughter of Queen Catherine, and should she likewise die without issue, to Elizabeth, daughter of Anna Boleyn (47). He caused Mass to be celebrated several times in his chamber, and wished that the Viaticum should be administered to him in the one kind alone. When the Viaticum was brought in he received it kneeling, and when it was told him, that, considering the state he was in, that was unnecessary, he said: "If I could bury myself under the earth, I could not show sufficient respect to the God I am about to receive" (48). How could he, however, expect to please the Almighty by such acts of reverence, after trampling on his Church, and dying out of her communion? He endeavoured, by these external acts, to quiet that remorse of conscience he felt, but, withal, he could not recover the Divine grace, nor the peace he sought. He called for some Religious to attend him at his last moments, after banishing them out of the kingdom (49); he next called for something to drink, and having tasted it he said to those around him, in a loud tone, "So this is the end of it, and all is lost for me," and immediately expired. He died on the 1st of February, 1547, at the age of fifty-six, according to Noel Alexander, or in his fifty-seventh year, according to others, and in the thirty-eighth year of his reign (50).

(46) Varillas, loc. cit. *p.* 99.
(47) Gotti, *s.* 2, *n.* 31; Varillas, *t.* 2, *p.* 99.
(48) Nat. Alex. *a.* 3, *n.* 9; Gotti, *s.* 2, *n.* 30; Varillas, loc. cit.
(49) Bart. Ist d'Inghil. *l.* 1, *c.* 1, *p.*4.
(50) Natal. loc. cit.; Varill. *p.* 100; Bartol. *p.* 3.

§ II.

REIGN OF EDWARD VI.

16.–The Duke of Somerset, as Guardian of Edward VI., governs the kingdom. 17.–He declares himself a heretic, and gives leave to the heretics to preach; invites Bucer, Vermigli, and Ochino to England, and abolishes the Roman Catholic Religion. 18.–He beheads his brother, the Lord High-Admiral. 19.–He is beheaded himself. 20.–Death of Edward; the Earl of Warwick makes an attempt to get possession of the kingdom, and is beheaded, but is converted, and dies an edifying death.

16.—Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, was one of the guardians appointed by Henry to his son ; he was maternal uncle to the young King, being brother to Jane Seymour, his mother. Although he passed all along as a Catholic, he was a Zuinglian, and as the majority of Edward's guardians were Catholics, he intrigued with some of the principal nobility of the kingdom, and pointed out how dangerous it would be to their interests that the young King should be left in the hands of those gentlemen; that the consequence would be that they should have, sooner or later, to surrender again the Ecclesiastic property given them by Henry; that the suppressed and ruined churches should be again repaired and rebuilt, to the great impoverishing of the Royal treasury; and that the only way to avoid such evils was that he should be made Governor of the kingdom. He craftily suppressed Henry's will, and substituted another, in which Edward was declared head of the Church of England, and he was appointed Regent; he then got himself created Duke of Somerset, and took the title of Protector of the Kingdom (1).

17.—No sooner had he got the supreme power into his hands, as Protector, than he at once took off the mask, proclaimed himself a Protestant, and appointed preachers to disseminate the heresy. He prohibited the Bishops from preaching, or ordaining, without the King's permission, and he then refused

(51) Varillas, Istor. *t.* 2, *p.* 100; Nat. Alex. *t.* 19, *c.* 13, *a.* 4; Hermant, Ist. *t.* 2, *c.* 267; Gotti, Ver. Rel. *c.* 114, *s·* 1, *n.* 1.

permission to any one to preach, unless to the Zuinglian Ministers. Among the rest the impious Cranmer, pseudo Archbishop of Canterbury, now began publicly to preach against the Catholic Church, and published a Catechism filled with the most wicked doctrines against the Faith, and was not ashamed to marry publicly, with the approbation of the Regent, a woman who lived with him as concubine before he was made Bishop (2). Hugh Latimer, Bishop of Winchester—but deposed from his See for preaching, in London, against the Real Presence—was now appointed, by Somerset, principal preacher of the Zuinglian errors. He invited, at the same time, from Strasbourg, three famous ministers of Satan, apostate Religious, well known through all Europe—Martin Bucer, now seventy years of age, and three times married; Peter Martyr, and Bernard Ochin—and appointed them to Professors' Chairs in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, to poison the minds of the poor youths studying there, and he banished every Catholic Professor out of these Colleges. To complete the work of iniquity, he appointed, as tutors to the young King, Richard Crock, a priest, who violated his vows, by marrying, and John Cheek, a layman of debauched life—fit instructors for a young Prince in vice and heresy (3). He tried, by sending Bucer, Peter Martyr, and Ochino, to Mary, to induce her to forsake the Church, likewise (4); but she showed such determined opposition, that he never tried it again. His next step was to abolish the six Articles of Henry VIII., and on the 5th of November, 1547, he obtained the sanction of Parliament, for abolishing the Roman Catholic Religion, the Mass, the veneration of Sacred Images, and for the confiscation of the sacred vessels and ornaments of the altar (5); and thus, under him, the whole plan of Religion established by Henry and the Parliament (*N.* 10), six Articles, and all, were done away with. Here we naturally wonder how so many Bishops and Theologians could establish, in Henry's reign, a form of worship of such little value, as to be abolished almost immediately on his death. Burnet says, that

(2) Varillas, loc. cit. *p.* 101; Gotti, loc. cit. *n.* 2; Hermant, *c.* 267.
(3) Varillas, *t.* 2, *l.* 17, *p.* 105, & seq.; Nat. Alex. *art.* 4.
(4) Varillas, *l.* 17, *p.* 116.
(5) Bossuet, *n.* 90.

these Theologians were ignorant of the truth. Behold, then, the reformed Faith, called by him "The Work of Light." They sanctioned articles of Faith without having a knowledge of the truth. The Reformation may, indeed, be called a work of darkness, since it upset Faith, Religion, and all Divine and human laws, in England (6). Somerset next ordained, that Communion should be administered under both kinds—that the Scriptures should be generally read in the vulgar tongue—and that all Bishops, or other Ecclesiastics, refusing obedience to this order, should be sent to prison, and deprived of their benefices, and Reformers installed in their places (7). In this he followed the advice of Calvin, who wrote him a long letter from Geneva on the subject, advising him to abolish the Catholic Religion by persecution; and the prisons of London were, accordingly, filled with suspected Catholics. At this period, three-fourths of the clergy had shaken off the law of celibacy (8).

18.—Such were the crimes of the Duke of Somerset against the Church; but the Divine vengeance soon overtook him, in a most unexpected manner (9). He had raised his brother, Thomas Seymour, to the dignity of Lord High Admiral of the Kingdom, and this nobleman had gained the affection of Henry's last Queen, Catherine Parr, and had his consent to the marriage. This was highly displeasing, however, to the Duchess of Somerset, as, in case of his marriage with Catherine, she should resign to her the precedence which she enjoyed, as wife of the Protector, and, though she yielded to the Queen Dowager, she was unwilling to take rank beneath her sister-in-law; and thus a quarrel was commenced between the ladies, in which their husbands were soon engaged. John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, was an enemy to both parties, and bent on their destruction; and, to accomplish it with greater certainly, he pretended to be a mediator, while he dexterously encouraged the strife between them, and succeeded so well, that Somerset engaged Sharington to accuse his brother of high treason. He appeared to be highly displeased when the accusation was first made; but then he

(6) Bossuet, *t.* 2, *l.* 7, *n.* 96.
(7) Gotti, loc. cit. *sec.* 1, *n.* 3; Nat. Alex. loc. cit.; Bossuet Hist. *l.* 7, *n.* 86.
(8) Varillas, *l.* 17, *p.* 126.
(9) Varillas, loc. cit. *p.* 126, *coll.* 2.

alleged that the King's life and honour were more dear to him than his brother's life, and he gave orders to proceed with his trial. The Admiral was condemned, and executed on the 20th of March, 1549. His lady, Queen Catherine, according to some, died of a broken heart; but we believe that she had previously died in childbirth (10).

19.—On the death of the Admiral, Earl Warwick was entire master of Somerset's mind; he wound him round as he pleased, and had sufficient interest to appoint friends of his own to several important places, by which he laid the foundation of the Duke's ruin. He strengthened his party, besides, by the adhesion of the Catholic lords—very numerous still—who were persuaded by him, that there was no hope of re-establishing the Catholic Religion while Somerset was in power. About the same time, the English lost Boulogne, in the ancient province of Picardy, and the Regent was severely censured, for not having sent reinforcements in time, to save it from the French. Several of the barons and nobility, likewise, had enclosed commonages, in different parts of the kingdom, to the great grievance of the people, who looked to the Regent for redress, and not obtaining it, broke out into rebellion, and Warwick got the Parliament convoked. He had a very strong party in both houses, so the Regent was attainted, and sent to the Tower, and was executed on the 22nd of January, 1552, and both Catholics and Protestants rejoiced at his death (11).

20.—The Earl of Warwick having now disposed of all his rivals, took the administration of affairs even during Edward's lifetime into his own hands, and got another step in the Peerage, being created Duke of Northumberland; and not satisfied with all this, prevailed on the King to leave his crown, by will, to his daughter-in-law, Lady Jane Grey, daughter of the Duke of Norfolk, excluding Mary, daughter of Queen Catherine, as she was declared illegitimate in the reign of Henry VIII., and Elizabeth, as daughter of the adultress, Anna Boleyn. Edward died soon after, in the sixteenth year of his age, on the 7th of July, 1553, and Northumberland, it is said, immediately gave orders that Mary should be secured; but his secretary, a

(10) Varillas, *l.* 17, *p.* 120.

(11) Varillas, *t.* 2, *l.* 17, *p.* 131, & *l.* 20, *p.* 1.

Catholic, thought it too bad that the heiress of the crown should be thus deprived of her right, and he escaped from his master, and arrived in Mary's presence two hours sooner than the person the Duke sent to arrest her (12). Mary immediately fled to Norfolk, where the people showed their attachment to her cause, by taking up arms in her defence. She collected an army of fifteen thousand men, and though Northumberland marched against her with thirty thousand, he was deserted by most of them (some say he never had more than six thousand in the beginning), and returned to London; but the citizens would not now admit him, and the fleet, likewise, declared for Mary. When Queen Mary was settled in the government, Northumberland was indicted for high treason, and, as there was no doubt of his guilt, he was condemned and executed. His sons suffered, likewise, and his daughter-in-law, Lady Jane Grey, Henry's niece, who wore the crown for ten days against her will, paid the penalty of her treason on the scaffold. Elizabeth was, likewise, kept in custody on suspicion. Northumberland had embraced Protestantism merely from political motives, but now he returned again to the Faith, confessed to a Priest, and declared on the scaffold, that it was merely the ambition of obtaining the crown for his family that caused him to dissemble his Faith, and that he looked on his punishment now a grace of God to procure his salvation. His sons and others, executed for the same crime, made a similar declaration. It is melancholy to see in this history so many persons condemned to death for trying to elevate themselves above their sphere, and England become immediately on her loss of the Faith a field of slaughter for her children (13).

(12) Varillas, *t.* 2, *l.* 20, *p.* 208.

(13) Varillas, *l.* 20, *p.* 209, *a.* 211; Nat. Alex. *t.* 19, *c.* 13, *art.* 5; Gotti, *c.* 114, *sec.* 1, *n.* 4; Hermant, *c.* 268.

§ III.

MARY'S REIGN.

21.—Mary refuses the title of Head of the Church; repeals her Father's and Brother's Laws; Cranmer is condemned to be burned, and dies a heretic; Mary sends off all heretics from her Court. 22.—Cardinal Pole reconciles England with the Church; her marriage with Philip II., and death.

21.—The good Queen Mary, on her accession to the throne, refused to take the impious title of Head of the Church, and immediately sent ambassadors to Rome, to pay obedience to the Pope. She repealed all the decrees of her father and brother, and re-established the public exercise of the Catholic Religion (1). She imprisoned Elizabeth, who twice conspired against her, and, it is said, she owed her life to the intercession of King Philip. She opened the prisons, and gave liberty to the Bishops and other Catholics who were confined; and on the 5th of October, 1553, the Parliament rescinded the iniquitous sentence of Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, by which he declared the marriage of Catherine and Henry null and void, and he was condemned to be burned as a heretic. When the unfortunate man found that he was condemned to death, he twice retracted his errors; but when all this would not save him from being burned, he cancelled his retractation, and died a Calvinist (2). By the Queen's orders, the remains of Bucer and Fagius, who died heretics, were caused to be exhumed and burned; and thirty thousand heretics were banished the kingdom, comprising Lutherans, Calvinists, Zuinglians, Anabaptists, Socinians, Seekers, and such like. The Seekers are those who are seeking the true religion, but have not yet found it, nor ever will out of the Catholic Church alone; because in every other religion, if they

(1) Bartol. *l.* 1, *c.* 3; Nat. Alex. loc. cit.; Hermant, *c.* 269; Varillas, *t.* 2, *l.* 20, *p.* 212; Gotti, *c.* 114, *sec.* 2, *a.* 1.

(2) Varillas, *l* 21, *p.* 252; Gotti, ibid, *n.* 4; Hermant, loc. cit.; Bossuet, Ist. *l.* 7, *n.* 103.

(3) Nat. Alex. ibid; Gotti, loc. cit. *n.* 4.

trace it up to the author, they will find some impostor, whose imagination furnished a mass of sophisms and errors.

22.—Mary, likewise, proclaimed the innocence of Cardinal Pole, and requested Julius III. to send him to England as his Legate, *a latere*. He arrived soon after, and, at the request of the Queen, reconciled the kingdom again to the Church, and absolved it from schism, on the Vigil of St. Andrew, 1554. He next restored Ecclesiastical discipline, reformed the Universities, and re-established the practices of Religion. He absolved all the laymen from the censures they incurred by laying hands on the property of the Church during the time of the schism; remitted the tithes and first fruits due to the Clergy; confirmed in their Sees the Catholic Bishops, though installed in the time of the schism, and recognized the new Sees established by Henry. All this was subsequently confirmed by Paul IV.; but, unfortunately for England, Mary died on the 15th of November, 1558, in the forty-fourth year of her age, and fifth of her reign. She was married to Philip II., King of Spain, and at first mistook her sickness, which was dropsy, for pregnancy. The Faithful all over the world mourned for her death (4).

(4) Nat. Alex. *art.* 5, in fin.; Varillas, *l.* 21, *p.* 229; Gotti, *sec.* 2, *n* 5, ad 7.

§ IV.

THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH.

23.–Elizabeth proclaimed Queen; the Pope is dissatisfied, and she declares herself a Protestant. 24.–She gains over the Parliament, through the influence of three of the Nobility, and is proclaimed head of the Church. 25.–She establishes the form of Church Government, and, though her belief is Calvinistic, she retains Episcopacy, &c. 26.–Appropriates Church Property, abolishes the Mass; the Oath of Allegiance; persecution of the Catholics. 27.–Death of Edmund Campion for the Faith. 28.–The Pope's Bull against Elizabeth. 29.–She dies out of Communion with the Church. 30.–Her successors on the Throne of England; deplorable state of the English Church. 31.–The English Reformation refutes itself.

23.—Mary died on the 13th of January, 1559, and Elizabeth, daughter of Anna Boleyn, was proclaimed Queen, according to the iniquitous will of Henry VIII. I call it iniquitous, for the crown, by right, appertained to Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, for Elizabeth's birth was spurious, as she was born during the lifetime of Henry's first Queen and lawful wife, Catherine, and when Clement VIII. and Paul III. had already declared his marriage with Anna Boleyn null and void (1). Elizabeth was then twenty-five years of age, and highly accomplished, and learned both in science and languages. She spoke French, Italian, and Latin. She had, besides, all the natural qualities requisite for a great Queen, but obscured by the Lutheran heresy, of which she was a follower in private. During the lifetime of Mary, she pretended to be a Catholic, and, perhaps, would have continued to do so when she came to the throne, or have become a Catholic in reality, if the Pope would recognize her as Queen, for in the beginning she allowed freedom of religion to all, and even took the old Coronation Oath to defend the Catholic Faith, and preserve the liberties of the Church (2). She commanded Sir Edward Cairne, the Ambassador in Rome

(1) Gotti, *c.* 114, *s.* 3, *n.* 2; Varillas, *t.* 2, *l.* 22. *p.* 284.

(2) Nat. Alex. *t.* 19, *c.* 13; Berti, His. *sec.* 16.

from her sister Mary, to notify her accession and coronation to Paul IV., and present her duty, and ask his benediction. The Pope, however, answered, that it was not lawful for her to have assumed the government of the kingdom, a fief of the Holy See, without the consent of Rome, that it would be necessary to examine the rights which Queen Mary of Scotland had to the throne also, and therefore that she should place herself altogether in his hands, and that she would experience from him paternal kindness. Elizabeth then saw that it would be difficult to keep herself on the throne, unless by separating from the Roman Church; she therefore tore off the mask, recalled her Ambassador, Cairne, from Rome, and publicly professed the heresy she had previously embraced in private (3).

24.—All now she had to do was to get the Parliament to establish the Reformed Religion, and this was easily accomplished. The House of Commons being already gained over, the only difficulty was to get the Peers to agree to it. The Upper House was almost entirely led by the Duke of Norfolk, Lord Dudley, and the Earl of Arundel. On each of these Elizabeth exercised her influence, and through them gained over the majority of the Peers, especially as the lay Peers were more numerous than the Bishops, to declare her Head of the Church. All the regulations made in religious affairs during the reign of Edward VI. were re-established, and those of Mary repealed (4). Each of these noblemen expected that Elizabeth, who was a most consummate intriguer, would make him the partner of her crown (5). There were sixteen thousand Ecclesiastics in England. Three-fourths, as Burnet writes, immediately joined the Reformers. The greater part of the Clergy were married at that period, and this was the reason, as Burnet himself allows, that they changed so easily.

25.—Elizabeth, now fortified with parliamentary authority, prohibited most rigorously any of her subjects from obeying the Pope, and commanded all to recognize her as Head of the Church, both in Spirituals and Temporalities. It was also ordained, at the same time, that to the Crown alone belonged the appointment of Bishops, the convocation of Synods, the power of taking cognizance of he-

(3) Nat. Alex. loc. cit.; Gotti, *c.* 114; Varillas, *t.* 2; Hermant, *c.* 270.

(4) Nat. Alex. *ar.* 6, Gotti, *s.* 3.

(5) Varillas, *l.* 22.

resy and abuses, and the punishment of spiritual delinquencies. A system of Church government and discipline was also established, and though the doctrine of the Anglican Church is Calvinism, which rejects Bishops, together with all the sacred ceremonies of the Roman Church, as well as altars and images, still she wished that the Bishops should be continued, but without any other power than what they held from herself. "Nisi ad beneplacitum Reginæ nec aliter nisi per ipsam a Regali Magistate derivatum auctoritatem" (6). Then was seen in the Church what before was unheard of—a woman arrogating to herself the supremacy of the Church. How totally opposed this was to the Scriptures, St. Paul tells us plainly, for he says (I. Cor. xiv, 34): "Let women keep silence in the churches, for it is not permitted to them to speak, but to be subject." She wished that the Priesthood, altars, and sacred ceremonies, should be in somewise retained, for the people, she said, required such things (7). Thus it would appear that she looked on the ceremonies of the Church as mere theatrical representations, fit to amuse the vulgar. A new Hierarchy and new ceremonies were, accordingly, instituted, and, we may say, a new Martyrology, with Wickliffe, Huss, and Cranmer, as its Martyrs; and Luther, Peter Martyr, Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Erasmus, its Saints.

26.—The benefices and the Monastic property were now all seized on, and part applied to government purposes, and the rest granted to the nobility. Vicars-General in spirituals were also appointed. All sacred images were removed from the churches, but she kept a Crucifix in her own chamber, placed on an altar, with two candles, but these were never lighted. The Mass was prohibited, together with all the ancient ceremonies used in preaching and administering the Sacraments, and new ceremonies were instituted, and a form of prayers commanded to be read in English, savouring strongly of Calvinism, which she wished should be the leading doctrine of the Anglican Church, but the government and discipline after a plan of her own (8). She then got the sanction of Parliament for all these regula-

(6) Nat. Alex. loc. cit.; Gotti, cit. *n*. 3.
(7) Varillas, *t*. 2, *l*. 22, *n*. 290.
(8) Nat. Alex. *s*. 6, *n*. 2; Gotti, *c*. 144, *s*. 3, *n*. 5; Varil. *t*. 2.

tions, and it was ordered that all Bishops and Ecclesiastics should take the oath of supremacy, under pain of deprivation and imprisonment for the first refusal, and of death for the second. The oath was this: "I, A. B., declare in my conscience that the Queen is the sole and supreme ruler in this kingdom of England, both in spirituals and temporals, and that no foreign Prelate or Prince has any authority Ecclesiastical in this kingdom, and I, therefore, in the plain sense of the words, reject all foreign authority." Elizabeth hoped that an order enforced under such severe penalties would be at once obeyed by all; but all the Bishops (with the exception of the Bishop of Llandaff), refused, and were degraded and banished, or imprisoned, and their glorious example was followed by the better part of the Clergy, by numbers of the Religious, of various Orders, and by many doctors, and several of the nobility, whose constancy in adhering to the Faith was punished by exile and imprisonment. Soon, however, these punishments were looked on as too mild—many Priests, Friars, and Preachers were put to death for the Faith, and crowned with Martyrdom (9). Sanders gives a Diary of all the occurrences that took place during this period in England, beginning in 1580.

27.—I cannot allow this opportunity to pass without relating the death of Edmund Campion, one of the many martyrs put to death by Elizabeth for the Faith. While in Rome he heard of the dreadful persecution the Catholics, and, above all, the Missionaries who came to their assistance, were suffering from Elizabeth. He was a young Englishman, a scholar, and a linguist, and, burning with zeal for the salvation of his countrymen, he determined to go to their assistance. This was a matter of great difficulty, for several spies were on the look-out for him, to take him on his landing, and not only was his person described, but even his likeness was taken; still, disguised as a servant, he escaped all the snares laid for him, and arrived safely in the kingdom. Night and day he laboured, preaching, hearing confessions, and animating the Faithful to perseverance; he was continually moving about from one place to another, under different names, and in various disguises, and so escaped, for a long time,

(9) Nat. Alex. *ar.* 6, *n.* 3; Gotti, *c.* 114, *s.* 3, *n.* 6, 7.

the emissaries who were in search of him. He was at last betrayed by an apostate Priest, while he was saying Mass, and preaching, in the house of a Catholic. He had not time to escape, the house was surrounded, and the master shut him up in a hiding hole, which was so well contrived, that after a most rigorous search, he could not be discovered. The bailiffs were going away in despair, when, at the bottom of the staircase they accidentally broke through a wall, and discovered him on his knees, offering up his life to God. They put him in prison, and he was then so violently racked, that when brought to trial and told to raise up his arm to attest his confession, he had not the power of doing so, and it was raised up by an assistant. He was arraigned as a traitor, for thus they indicted the Catholic Priests in those days, to do away with the honour of martyrdom. They put them to death, they said, not for preaching their Faith, but for conspiring against the Queen. When Campion was charged with treason, he confounded his accusers by replying: "How can you charge us with treason, and condemn us for that alone, when all that is requisite to save ourselves is, that we go to your preachings (thus changing their Religion); it is, then, because we are Catholics that we are condemned, and not because we are, as you say, rebels." He was condemned to be drawn on a hurdle to the place of execution, and hanged. He then declared that he never rebelled against the Queen, that it was for the Faith alone he was put to death. He was disembowelled, his heart torn out and cast into the fire, and his body quartered. Several other Priests underwent a like punishment for the Faith during this reign (10).

28.—When St. Pius V. learned the cruelties practised by Elizabeth on the Catholics, he published a Bull against her, on the 24th of February, 1570; but this was only adding fuel to the fire, and the persecution became more furious (11). It was then, as we have already related, that she, under false pretences, beheaded Mary, Queen of Scots (*Chap.* xi, *art.* iii, *sec.* ii, *n.* 78). She was desirous, if possible, even to destroy Catholicity in all Christian kingdoms, and entered into a league with the Reformers of the Netherlands, and the Calvinists of France, and

(10) Bartol. Istor. d' Inghil. *l.* 6. *c.* 1.

(11) Nat. Alex. *t.* 19, *art.* 3, *s.* 6; Gotti, *c.* 144, *s.* 3, *n.* 8.

this league never was interrupted during her lifetime (12), and in the wars waged by these rebels against their Sovereigns, she sent them powerful assistance (13), and she left no stone unturned, either, to advance the Calvinistic Reformation in Scotland (14).

29.—The end of her reign and life was now at hand; a Protestant author has said that she died a *happy death.* It is worth while to see what sort of a death it was. I find that after the death of the Earl of Essex, whom she beheaded—though very much attached to him—for the crime of insurrection, she never more enjoyed a day's happiness. As old age came on her, also, she was tormented by fear and jealousy, and doubted the affectionate fidelity of her subjects. She went to Richmond, where the pleasing scenery had no effect in calming her mind; she conceived that all her friends abandoned her, that everything went against her, and complained that she had no sincere attached friend. The death-sickness at last came on her, and she refused all medical aid, and could not, her impatience was so great, bear even the sight of a physician. When she saw death approaching, she declared King James of Scotland her successor, and on the 24th of March, 1603, two hours before midnight, she breathed her last, in the seventieth year of her age, and forty-fourth of her reign. Thus she closed her days in sorrow and anguish, not so much through pain of body, as of mind. She sunk into the grave without any sign of repentance, without Sacraments, without the assistance of a Priest; she was attended by some Protestant Ecclesiastics, but they only exhorted her to persevere in the heresy she embraced (15). Such was the *happy* death of Queen Elizabeth. It is said that she used to say: "If God gives me forty years to reign, I will give up even heaven itself" (16). Unhappy woman! not alone forty, but nearly forty-five years did she possess the throne. She became head of the Church; she separated the Church of England from the Roman See; she prohibited the exercise of the Catholic Religion; how many innocent persons did she doom to all the horrors of exile, of imprisonment, of cruel death! She is now

(12) Varil. *t.* 2, *l.* 26, *p.* 437.
(13) Idem, *l.* 29.
(14) Idem, *l.* 28.
(15) Nat. Alex. *art.* 3; Gotti, *c.* 114, *s.* 3; Bartoli, Istor d' Inghil. *l.* 6.
(16) Bartoli. Istor. cit.

in eternity, and I would like to know, is she satisfied with all the crimes and cruelties she committed during her life. O, happy would it be for her had she never sat upon a throne.

30.—Elizabeth, before she died, nominated James VI., the son of Mary Stuart, her successor. When he became King of England (*Chap.* xi, *art.* iii, *sec.* ii, *n.* 85), he neglected to comply with the wishes of his good mother, never to follow any other than the Catholic Religion; he leant, therefore, to Lutheranism—was anything but a friend to the Calvinists—and was anxious that Scotland, which kingdom he retained, should follow the Lutheran doctrine also; but in this he was disappointed. His son and successor, Charles I., endeavoured to carry out his father's intentions, and lost his head on the scaffold. He was succeeded by his son, Charles II., who died without issue, and the crown then devolved on his brother, James II. This good Prince declared himself a Catholic, and the consequence was, that he was obliged to fly to France, where he died a holy death in 1701, leaving one son, James III., who lived and died in Rome, in the Catholic Faith. In fine, unhappy England was, and is, separated from the Catholic Church, and groans under the weight of various heresies. Every Religion, with the exception of the Catholic, is tolerated, but the Faithful are exposed to all the frightful severities of the penal laws, and there are among the sectarians, almost as many Religions as individuals. In fact, we may say, that in that unhappy country there is no Religion at all, for, as St. Augustin says (17): "The true Religion was always one, from the beginning, and will always be the same." *

31.—I have placed at the end of the historical portion of the Work, the Refutation of the principal Heresies which infected the Church, but it is impossible to take any particular hold of the English schism, for it is not a Religion in itself, so much as a mixture composed of every heresy, excluding Catholicity, the

(17) St. Augus. Epis. 102, alias 49, cont. Pagan, *b.* 2, 3.

* This was written in the last century, but the reader will praise the Almighty that such a state of things exists no longer. The Holy Author can now look down from heaven on a flourishing Church in England, and behold his own children, the Redemptionists, labouring with the other faithful labourers of the Gospel, in extending the kingdom of Christ.

only true Religion. This is, then, according to Burnet, "The Work of Light," which smooths the way to heaven. What blindness, or, rather, what impiety! The Reformation smooths the way to heaven, by allowing every one to live as he pleases, without law or Sacraments, and with no restraint. A foreign Protestant author even ridicules Burnet's boast: "The English, by the Reformation," he says, "have become so totally independent, that every one takes whatever road to heaven that pleases himself." Thus the English Reformation refutes itself.

Article II.

THE ANTITRINITARIANS AND SOCINIANS.

§ I.

MICHAEL SERVETUS.

32.–Character of Servetus; his studies, travels, and false doctrine. 33.–He goes to Geneva; disputes with Calvin, who has him burned to death.

32.—Michael Servetus, the chief of the Antitrinitarians, was a Spaniard, a native of Saragossa, in Catalonia. He was a man of genius (1), but light-headed, and held such a presumptious opinion of himself, that, even before he was twenty-five years old, he thought himself the most learned man in the world. He went to Paris to study medicine, and there met some German Lutheran professors, employed by Francis I. to teach in that University, as he wished to have, at all risks, the best professors in Europe. He learned from these doctors, not only Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, but at the same time imbibed their errors. He went to Dauphiny, and, as he commenced disseminating the errors he had learned (2), he was accused of Lutheranism, but cleared himself, and denounced all Lutheran doctrine. He next

(1) Jovet, Hist. delle Relig. *t.* 2, *p.* 287; Varil. *t.* 1, *l.* 8, *p.* 370; Nat. Alex. *s.* 19; Gotti, Ver. Rel. *l.* 2, *c.* 115; Van Ranst, *s.* 16, *p.* 325.

(2) Varil. loc. cit.

went to Lyons, then to Germany, and from that to Africa to learn the Alcoran of Mahomet. He next went to Poland, and fixed himself there; and, puffed up with an extraordinary idea of his own learning, he disdained attaching himself to any sect, and formed a religion of his own, composed of the errors of all sects, and then, as Varillas tells us, he changed his name to Revez. With Luther, he condemned all which that Reformer condemned in the Catholic Church; he rejected the Baptism of infants, with the Anabaptists; with the Sacramentarians, he said that the Eucharist was only a figure of the body and blood of Jesus Christ. But his most awful errors were those against the Most Holy Trinity, and especially against the Divinity of Jesus Christ and the Holy Ghost. With Sabellius, he denied the distinction of the three Divine Persons; with Arius, that the Word was God; with Macedonius, that the Holy Ghost was God, for he said that in God there was but One Nature and One Person, and that the Son and the Holy Ghost were only two emanations from the Divine Essence, and had a beginning only from the creation of the world. Thus, as Jovet (3) says, Arianism, which was extinct for eight hundred years, was resuscitated by Servetus in 1530. Europe, and the northern nations of it especially, being then all in confusion, overrun by so many heresies, he soon found followers. Besides the errors enumerated, the books of Servetus were filled with the errors of Apollinares, of Nestorius, and of Eutyches, as the reader can see, by consulting Noel Alexander and Gotti. Another of his opinions was, that man did not commit mortal sin till he passed the age of twenty; that by sin the soul became mortal like the body; that polygamy might be permitted; and to these he added many other blasphemies.

33.—Servetus left Germany and Poland, and was coming to Italy to disseminate his doctrine. He arrived in Geneva, where Calvin resided at the time. Calvin was at one time accused of Arianism, and to prove the contrary, wrote some treatises against Servetus. Having him now in his power, he thought it a good opportunity to give a cruel proof of his sincere abhorrence of this heresy, so he had him denounced by one of his servants to the magistrates, and imprisoned (*Chap.* xi, *art.* iii, *sec.* i, *n.* 67).

(3) Jovet, *p.* 288.

They then had a long disputation. Servetus asserted that the Scriptures alone were sufficient to decide Articles of Faith, without reference either to Fathers or Councils, and, in fact, that was Calvin's own doctrine also, especially in his disputes with the Catholics. He was, therefore, very hard pressed by Servetus, who explained the texts adduced to prove the Trinity and the Divinity of Jesus Christ, after his own fashion, especially as he himself—rejecting Fathers and Councils in the explanation of that text of St. John (x, 30), "The Father and I am one"—said that all were wrong in proving by this, the unity of essence between the Father and Son, as it only proved the perfect uniformity of the will of Christ with that of his Father. When he found, therefore, that Servetus obstinately held his Antitrinitarian doctrines, he laid another plan to destroy him. He sent his propositions to the University of the Zuinglian Cantons, and, on their condemnation, he caused him to be burned alive on the 27th of October, 1553, as we have already narrated (*Chap.* xi, *art.* iii, *sec.* i, *n.* 67) (4). This cursed sect, however, did not expire with Servetus, for his writings and disciples carried it into Russia, Wallachia, Moravia, and Silesia; it was afterwards split into thirty-two divisions, and in these provinces the Antitrinitarians are more numerous than the Lutherans or Calvinists.

(4) Nat. Alex. *t.* 19, *art.* 14; Van Ranst, *p.* 326.

§ II.

VALENTINE GENTILIS, GEORGE BLANDRATA, AND BERNARD OCHINO.

34.–Valentine Gentilis; his impious doctrine. 35.–He is punished in Geneva, and retracts. 36.–Relapses, and is beheaded. 37.–George Blandrata perverts the Prince of Transylvania; disputes with the Reformers; is murdered. 38.–Bernard Ochino; his life while a Friar; his perversion, and flight to Geneva. 39.–He goes to Strasbourg, and afterwards to England, with Bucer; his unfotrunate death in Poland.

34.—Valentine Gentilis was a native of Cosenza, in Calabria, and a disciple of Servetus. He was astonished, he said (1), that the Reformers would trouble themselves so much in disputing with the Catholics about Sacraments, Purgatory, Fasting, &c., matters of such little importance, and still agree with them in the principal mystery of their Faith, the Trinity. Although he agreed in doctrine with Servetus, he explained it differently (2). Three things, he said, concur in the Trinity—the essence, which was the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The Father is the one only true God, the *Essenciator;* the Son and the Holy Ghost are the *Essensiati.* He did not call the Father a Person, because, according to his opinion, the essence was in itself true God, and therefore he said, if we admit the Father to be a Person, we have no longer a Trinity, but a Quaternity. He thus denied that there were three Persons in the same essence, as we believe. He recognized in God three external Spirits (3); but of these, two were inferior to the Father, for he had given them a Divinity indeed, but inferior to his own. In the book which he presented to Sigismund Augustus, King of Poland (4), he complains that many monstrous terms have been introduced into the Church, as Persons, Essence, and Trinity, which are, he says, a perversion of the Divine Mysteries. He admitted that there were three holy and eternal essences, as the Athanasian Creed teaches, but in all the rest he says it is "a Satanical symbol."

(1) Van Ranst, *p.* 326.
(2) Gotti, *c.* 115; Nat. Alex. *t.* 19, *ar.* 14; Jovet, *t.* 1, *p.* 296.
(3) Jovet, loc. cit.
(4) Van Ranst, loc. cit.

35.—Valentine, and some Antitrinitarian friends of his, being in Geneva (5), in 1558, and the magistracy, having a suspicion of his opinions, obliged them to sign a profession of Faith in the Trinity. Valentine subscribed it, and swore to it, but not sincerely, for he immediately after began to teach his errors, so he was taken up and imprisoned for perjury. He presented another confession of Faith while in prison, but as his heresy appeared through it, Calvin strenuously opposed his release. Fear then drove him to a more ample retractation, and from his prison he presented the following one to the magistrates: "Confiteor Patrem, Filium et Spiritum Sanctum esse unum Deum, idest tres Personas distinctas in una Essentia, Pater non est Filius, nec Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus, sed unaquæque illarum Personarum est integra illa Essentia. Item Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus quantum ad Divinam Naturam sunt unus Deus cum Patre, cui sunt coæquales et coæterni. Hoc sentio, et corde ac ore profiteor. Hæreses autem contrarias damno, et nominatim blasphemias quas descripsi," &c. It would have been well for him had he never changed again this profession; he would not then have made the miserable end he did.

36.—Notwithstanding his retractation, the Senate of Geneva, in 1558, condemned him to be brought forth, stripped to his shirt, to kneel with a candle in his hand, and pray to God and the state for pardon for his blasphemies, and then to cast his writings into the fire with his own hands. He was led through the principal streets of the city, and the sentence executed (6). He was prohibited, likewise, from leaving the city; indeed, at first he was kept in prison, but afterwards was allowed out, promising on oath that he would not make his escape. He fled, however, at the first opportunity, and took refuge in the house of a lawyer of Padua, who lived in Savoy, and held the same opinions as himself, and began writing again in opposition to the Trinity. He was again put into prison, and escaped to Lyons, where he published a Treatise against the Athanasian Creed. From Lyons he went to Poland, and when Sigismund banished him from that kingdom, he took up his residence in Bearn. He was here accused by Musculus, in the year 1556, and imprisoned.

(5) Gotti, s. 2, 3; Nat. Alex. cit. (6) Gotti, loc. cit.

He refused to retract, and was sentenced to death. Just before laying his head on the block, he said: "Others died Martyrs for the Son; I die a Martyr for the Father." Unfortunate man! dying an enemy of the Son, he died an enemy of the Father, likewise (7).

37.—George Blandrata was another of the disciples of Servetus. He was born in Piedmont, and was a physician, and the writings of Servetus having fallen in his way, he embraced his errors. The Inquisition was very strict at that period in Piedmont, so he consulted his safety by flying, first, into Poland, and, afterwards, in 1553, into Transylvania (8). He here succeeded in getting himself appointed physician to the Sovereign, John Sigismund, and to his Prime Minister, Petrowitz, a Lutheran, and by that means endeavoured to make them Arians. There were a great many Lutherans and Calvinists in the country, and they all joined in opposing Blandrata's doctrines, so the Sovereign, to put an end to the dispute, commanded that a public conference (9) should be held in his presence, and acted himself the part of judge. The conference took place in his presence, in Waradin, between the Reformers and Blandrata, and several other Arian friends of his. They began by quoting the various passages of the Scripture used by Arius to impugn the Divinity of Christ. The Reformers answered, by quoting the interpretation of these texts by the Council of Nice, and by the Holy Fathers, who explained them in their proper sense. This doctrine, they said, we should hold, otherwise every one might explain away the Scriptures just as he pleased. One of the Arians then stepped forward and cried out: "How is this? When you argue with the Papists, and quote your texts of Scripture to defend your doctrine, and they say that the true meaning of these texts is only to be found in the Decrees of Councils and the works of the Fathers, you at once say that the Holy Fathers and the Bishops composing the Councils were men subject to be deceived, like any one else—that the Word of God alone is sufficient for understanding the Articles of Faith—that it is clear enough in itself, and requires no explanation; and now

(7) Spondon. ad Ann. 1561, *n.* 34; Van Ranst, *sec.* 16, *p.* 327; Gotti, *c.* 115.

(8) Jovet, His. Rel. *p.* 291; Gotti, *s.* 2, *n.* 6; Nat. Alex. *t.* 19, *art.* 14.

(9) Jovet, *p.* 294.

you want to make use of the same arms against us which you blame the Catholics for having recourse to." This answer was applauded by the Prince and the majority of the meeting, and the preachers were confounded, and knew not what reply to make. Arianism then became the most numerous sect in Transylvania, and the impious doctrine of Arius was resuscitated after a lapse of nine hundred years. It is worthy of remark, as Jovet (10) tells us, that the first who embraced it were all Lutherans or Calvinists, and that all their Chiefs came to an unhappy end. Paul Alciatus, their companion, at last became a Mahometan, as Gotti informs us. Francis David, as Noel Alexander tells us, was killed by a house falling on him; another of them, called Lismaninus, drowned himself in a well, and Blandrata (11) was killed by a relative of his, to rob him.

38.—Bernard Ochino was also an Antitrinitarian. He was a Capuchin Friar, and the heretics even make him founder of that Institute; but the Capuchin Chronicle, and the majority of writers, deny this, and say he was only General of the Capuchins for a while (12). Their real founder was Matthew de Basso, in 1525, and Ochino did not enter the order until 1534, nine years after, when the Order already had three hundred professed members. He lived as a Religious for eight years, and threw off the habit in 1542. At first, while a Religious, he led a most exemplary life (13), wore a very poor habit, went always barefooted, had a long beard, and appeared to suffer from sickness and the mortified life he led. Whenever he had occasion, in his journeys, to stop in the houses of the great, he eat most sparingly, and only of one dish, and that the plainest—scarcely drank any wine—and never went to bed, but, extending his mantle on the ground, took a short repose. With all this, he was puffed up with vanity, especially as he was a most eloquent preacher, though his discourses were more remarked for ornament of diction than soundness of doctrine, and the Churches were always crowded when he preached. The Sacramentarian Valdez, who perverted Peter Martyr (*Chap.* xi, *art.* ii, *sec.* iii, *n.* 57), was also the cause of his fall. He perceived his weakness; he

(10) Jovet, cit. p. 300.
(11) Nat. Alex. *s.* 3; Gotti, *s.* 2, *n.* 6; Jovet, cit.
(12) Varill. Hist. *t.* 2, *p.* 109; Gotti, 115.
(14) Varill. *p.* 111.

saw he was vain of his preaching, and (14) he used frequently go to hear him, and visit him afterwards, and under the praises he administered to him for his eloquence, conveyed the poison of his sentiments. Ochino had a great opinion of his own merits, and hoped, when he was made General of his Order, that the Pope would raise him to some higher dignity; but when he saw that neither a Cardinal's Hat, nor even a Mitre, fell to his lot, he entertained the most rancorous feeling against the Roman Court, and Valdez made him an easy prey. Being now infected with the poisonous sentiments of Zuinglius and Calvin, he began in the pulpit to speak derogatory of the Pope and the Roman See, and preaching in the Archbishopric of Naples, after Peter Martyr, he began to deride the doctrines of Purgatory and Indulgences, and sowed the first seeds of that great revolution, which afterwards, in 1656, convulsed the city. When the Pope received information of this, he commanded him to come to Rome, and account for his doctrine. His friends advised him to go; but, as he felt himself hurt by the order, he was unwilling to obey. While he was thus wavering, he went to Bologna, and called on the Cardinal Legate, Contarini, to solicit his protection and interest. The Cardinal was then suffering from sickness, of which, in fact, he died soon after; so he received him coldly, hardly spoke to him, and dismissed him. He now suspected that the Cardinal knew all, and would have him put in prison; so he threw off the habit, and went to Florence, where he met Peter Martyr, and concerted with him a flight to Geneva, then the general refuge of apostates. In fact, he arrived there even before Peter Martyr himself, and, though sixty years old, he brought a young girl of sixteen along with him, and married her there, thus giving a pledge of his perpetual separation from the Catholic Church. He then wrote an Apology of his Flight, and abused, in the most violent terms, the Order of St. Francis, and the Pope, Paul III. The Pope for a while entertained the notion of dissolving the Capuchin Order altogether, but relinquished it on finding that Ochino had made no perverts among that body.

39.—Calvin received Ochino most kindly on his arrival in

(14) Varill. cit. *p.* 100.

Geneva, but he soon perceived that the Capuchin had no great opinion of him, and leaned more to the doctrines of Luther, and he, therefore, began to treat him with coolness; so, having no great affection for the doctrines of either one or the other, he determined to establish his fame by founding a new sect. He then took up the opinions of Arius, and published some tracts in Italian, in which he confounded the personality and properties of the Three Divine Persons, so Calvin procured a sentence of banishment to be passed on him by the Senate of Geneva. He then went to Basil, but as he was not safe even there, he went to Strasbourg, to Bucer, who protected heretics of every shade, and he received him kindly, appointed him Professor of Theology, and took him, along with himself and Peter Martyr, to England afterwards. They were both banished from that kingdom, by Queen Mary, on her accession, together with thirty thousand others, so he went first to Germany and then to Poland. Even there he had no rest, for all heretics were banished from that country by the King, Sigismund; and so, broken down by old age, and abandoned by every one, he concealed himself in the house of a friend, and died of the plague, in 1564, leaving two sons and a daughter, their mother having died before. Cardinal Gotti, Moreri, and others, say that he died an apostate and impenitent; but Zachary Boverius, in the Annals of the Capuchins, proves on the authority of other writers, and especially of the Dominican, Paul Grisaldus, and of Theodore Beza himself, that he abjured all his errors, and received the Sacraments before his death. Menochius and James Simidei follow the opinion of Boverius. I do not give an opinion either on one side or the other, but, with Spondanus and Graveson, leave the matter between them (15).

(15) Gotti, cit. *sec.* 2, *n.* 8; Varillas, *p.* 112, & seq.; Nat. Alex. *t.* 19, *a.* 14, *sec.* 3; Van Ranst, *sec.* 16, *p.* 328; Bern. *t.* 4, *sec.* 16, *c.* 5; Berti, Brev. Hist. Eccl. *sec.* 6, *c.* 3; Bover. in Ann. Capuccin. 1543; Menoch. Cent. *p.* 2, *c.* 89; Paulus Grisald. Decis. Fid. Cath. in Ind. error. & Hærat. Simid. Comp. Stor. degli Eresiarchi, *sec.* 16; Graveson, *t.* 4, Hist. Eccl. *coll.* 3.

§ III.

THE SOCINIANS.

40.–Perverse doctrine of Lelius Socinus. 41.–Faustus Socinus; his travels, writings, and death. 42.–Errors of the Socinians.

40.—Lelius and Faustus Socinus, from whom the Socinians take their name, were born in Sienna. Lelius was the son of Marianus Socinus, a celebrated lawyer, and was born in 1525. His talents were of the first order, and he surpassed all his cotemporaries at the schools; but he, unfortunately, became acquainted with some Protestants, and they perverted him, so, dreading to come under the notice of the Inquisition, then extremely strict in Italy, he left it at the age of twenty-one, and spent four years in travelling through France, England, Flanders, Germany, and Poland, and finally came to Switzerland, and took up his abode in Zurich. He was intimate with Calvin, Beza, Melancthon, and several others of the same sort, as appears from their letters to him; but he attached himself chiefly to the Antitrinitarian doctrines of Servetus. When he learned that Servetus was burned in Geneva, he hid himself, and fled to Poland first, and afterwards to Bohemia, but after a time returned to Zurich, where he died, in the year 1562, at the early age of thirty-seven (1).

41.—Faustus Socinus was a nephew of the former; he was born in 1539, and was infected with his uncle's heresy. He was twenty-three years of age when his uncle died. He at once went to Zurich, and took possession of all his manuscripts, which he afterwards published, to the great injury of the Church. Next pretending that he was a true Catholic (2), he returned to Italy, and lived for nine years attached to the service of the Duke of Tuscany, who treated him with honour and respect. Finding it impossible to spread his heresy in Italy as he wished,

(1) Nat. Alex. *t.* 19, *art.* 14; Gotti, *c.* 116, *sec.* 3, *n.* 1; Van Ranst, *sec.* 16, *p.* 328.

(2) Gotti, loc. cit. *n.* 2.

he went to Basil, and lived there three years, and published his impious work on Theology, in two volumes, and spread his doctrines not only there, but in Poland and Transylvania, both by word and writing. His writings were very voluminous, for not only did he publish his Theology, but several Treatises, besides, especially Commentaries on the fifth and sixth chapters of St. Matthew, on the first chapter of St. John, on the seventh chapter of St. Paul to the Romans, on the first Epistle of St. John, and many more enumerated by Noel Alexander, all of a heretical tendency (3). He was obliged to fly from Cracow (4), in 1598, and went to a village, where he continued to write works of the same tendency, and where, at last, he died in 1604, the sixty-fifth year of his age, leaving one daughter after him.

42.—The Socinian errors are very numerous, and Noel Alexander and Cardinal Gotti (5) give them all without curtailment. I will only state the principal ones: They say, first, that the knowledge of God and of Religion could not come from Nature. Second—That there is no necessity for Christians reading the Old Testament, since they have every thing in the New. Third—They deny Tradition. Fourth—They assert that in the Divine Essence there is but one Person. Fifth—That the Son of God is improperly called God. Sixth—That the Holy Ghost is not a Divine Person, but merely a Divine power. Seventh—That Jesus Christ is true man, but not a mere man, for he was honoured by the filiation of God, inasmuch as he was formed without the assistance of man; and they also blasphemously assert that he did not exist before the Blessed Virgin. Eighth—They deny that God assumed human nature in unity of person. Ninth—That Christ is our Saviour, only because he showed us the way of salvation. Tenth—Man was not immortal, nor had he original justification before he committed original sin. Eleventh—Christ did not consummate his sacrifice on the Cross, but only when he went into heaven. Twelfth—Christ did not rise from the dead by his own power; the body of Christ was annihilated after his Ascension, and it is only a spiritual body that he has in heaven. Thirteenth—Baptism is not necessary

(3) Nat. Alex. loc. cit. *n.* 1.
(4) Gotti, cit. *n.* 2.
(5) Nat. Alex. *n.* 2; Gotti, *n.* 3.

for salvation, nor is grace acquired by it. Fourteenth—We receive mere bread and wine in the Eucharist, and these symbols are only of use to remind us of the death of Christ. Fifteenth—The Socinians follow the Pelagians in the matter of Grace, and say that our natural strength alone is sufficient to observe the Law. Sixteenth—God has not an infallible knowledge of future things which depend on the free will of man. Seventeenth—The soul does not survive after death; the wicked are annihilated, with the exception of those who will be alive on the day of judgment, and these will be condemned to everlasting fire; but the damned will not suffer for ever. Eighteenth—They teach, with Luther, that the Church failed, and did not continually exist. Nineteenth—That Antichrist began to exist when the Primacy of the Bishop of Rome was established. (It is remarkable that heretics of every class attack the Primacy of the Pope.) Twentieth—That the words, "Thou art Peter, and on this rock," &c., were addressed equally to the other Apostles as to Peter. Twenty-first—That the words, "The gates of hell shall not prevail against it," do not mean that the Church can never fail. Twenty-second—That the keys given to St. Peter have no other meaning but this: That he had the power of declaring who did or did not belong to the state of those who enjoy the Divine Grace. Twenty-third—They deny that we should have faith in General Councils. Twenty-fourth—They deny that it is lawful for Christians to defend their lives by force against unjust aggressors, for it is impossible, they say, that God would permit a pious and religious man to be placed in these circumstances, so that there would be no way of saving himself unless by shedding the blood of another. Besides, they say, that it is even worse to kill an aggressor than an enemy, for he who kills an enemy kills one who has already done him an injury; but he who kills an aggressor kills one who has as yet done him no injury, and only desires to injure him and kill him; and even he cannot be sure that the aggressor intends to kills him at all, as, perhaps, he only intends to terrify him, and rob him then with more ease to himself. Here are the original words of the Proposition, as quoted by Noel Alexander, error 39: "Non licere Christianis vitam suam, suorumque contra latrones, et invasores vi oppositа defendere, si possint; quia fieri non potest, ut Deus hominem

vere pium, ipsique ex animo confidentem, tali involvi patiatur periculo, in quo ipsum servatum velit, sed non aliter, quam sanguinis humani effusione. Homicidium aggressoris pro graviori delicto habendum esse, quam ipsam vindictam. Vindicando enim retribuo injuriam jam acceptam: at hic occido hominem, qui me forsan nondum læserat, nedum occiderat, sed qui voluntatem tantum habuit me lædendi, aut occidendi; imo de quo certo scire non possum, an me animo occidendi, et non potius terrendi tantum, quo tutius me spoliari possit, aggrediatur. Twenty-fifth—That it is not necessary for Preceptors to have a Mission from the Superiors of the Church, and that the words of St. Paul, "How shall they preach if they be not sent?" are to be understood when they preach doctrines unheard till then, such as the doctrine preached by the Apostles to the Gentiles, and, therefore, a Mission was necessary for them. I omit many other errors of less importance, and refer the reader to Noel Alexander, who treats the subject diffusely. The worst is, that this sect still exists in Holland and Great Britain. Modern Deists may be called followers of Socinus, as appears from the works they are every day publishing.* The Socinians say of their founder, Faustus:

> Tota licet Babylon destruxit tecta Lutherus,
> Muros Calvinus, sed fundamenta Socinus (6).

Well may this be said, for the Socinians deny the most fundamental articles of the Faith.

(6) Gotti, *c.* 115, *sec.* 3, *n.* 15; Van Ranst, *p.* 308.

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* N.B.—This was written in 1765, or thereabouts.

CHAPTER XIII.

HERESIES OF THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES.

Article I.

ISAAC PERIERES, MARK ANTHONY DE DOMINIS, WILLIAM POSTELLUS, AND BENEDICT SPINOSA.

1.–Isaac Perieres, chief of the Pre-Adamites; abjures his heresy. 2.–Mark Anthony de Dominis; his errors and death. 3.–William Postellus; his errors and conversion. 4.–Benedict Spinosa, author of a new sort of Atheism. 5.–Plan of his impious system; his unhappy death.

1.—Isaac Perieres, a native of Aquitaine, lived in this century. He was at first a follower of Calvin, but afterwards founded the sect of the Pre-Adamites, teaching that, previous to the creation of Adam, God had made other men. The Old Testament, he says, speaks only of Adam and Eve, but says nothing of the other men who existed before them, and these, therefore, were not injured by Original Sin, nor did they suffer from the flood. He fell into this error because he rejected Tradition, and, therefore his opinion appeared consonant to reason, and not opposed to the Scripture. He published a Treatise in Holland on the Pre-Adamites, in 1655. He was convinced of the fallacy of his opinions, both by Catholics and Calvinists, and his life even was in danger from both one and the other, so he at last recognised the authority of constant and universal Tradition, and in the Pontificate of Alexander VII. renounced all his heresies, and returned to the Church (1).

2.—Mark Anthony de Dominis was another of the remarkable heretics of this century. He joined the Jesuits at first in Verona, but left them, either because he did not like the restraint of discipline, or was dismissed for some fault. He was afterwards elevated, we know not how, to the Bishopric of Segni, by

(1) Berti, Brev. Hist. *t.* 2, *sec.* 17; Bernini, *t.* 4, *sec.* 17, *c.* 5.

Clement VIII., and was subsequently translated to the Archbishopric of Spalatro by Paul V. He did not hold this diocese long, for he was sued and condemned to pay a pension, charged on the Diocese by the Pope with his consent before he was appointed. He was so chagrined with the issue of the case that he resolved to be revenged on the Apostolic See, and went to England in 1616, and there published a pestilent work, "De Republica Christina." In this book he has the temerity to assert that out of the Roman Catholic Religion, Calvinism, Lutheranism, and the Anabaptist doctrines, a sound and orthodox Religion could be formed, and his mode of doing this—of uniting truth and error in this impossible union—is even more foolish than the thing itself. After residing six years in England, agitated by remorse, he was desirous of changing his life, and returning once more to the Catholic Church, but he was dreadfully agitated, between the desire of repentance and the despair of pardon; he feared he would be lost altogether. In this perplexity he consulted the Spanish ambassador, then resident in England, and he offered his influence with the Holy See, and succeeded so well that Mark Anthony went to Rome, threw himself at the Pope's feet, and the Sovereign Pontiff was so satisfied that his repentance was sincere, that he once more received him into favour. Soon after he published a document in which he solemnly and clearly retracts all that he had ever written against the doctrine of the Church, so that to all appearance he was a sincere penitent and a true Catholic. Still he continued to correspond privately with the Protestants, till God removed him from the world by a sudden death. His writings and papers were then examined, and his heresy was proved. A process was instituted; it was proved that he meditated a new act of apostacy, and so his body and painted effigy were publicly burned by the common hangman in the most public place in Rome—the *Campo de Fiori*, to show the revenge that God will take on the enemies of the Faith (2).

3.—William Postellus, or Postell, was born in Barenton, in Lower Normandy; he was a learned philosopher, and Oriental traveller, and was remarkable as a linguist, but fell into errors

(2) Van Ranst, *sec.* 17, *p.* 325; Bernin. *t.* 4, *sec.* 17, *c* 1, 2, 3; Berti. loc. cit.

of Faith. Some even go so far as to say, that in his work, called *Virgo Veneta*, he endeavours to prove that an old maid of Venice, called Mother Johanna of Venice, was the Saviour of the feminine sex. Florimund, however, defends him from this charge, and says he wrote this curious work merely to praise this lady, who was a great friend of his, and frequently afforded him pecuniary assistance. He lived some time also in Rome, and joined the Jesuits, but they soon dismissed him, on account of the extraordinary opinions he professed. He was charged with heresy, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment, by the Inquisition; but he escaped to France, and his fame as a linguist procured him a favourable reception from King Charles IX., and the learned of that country. He then wrote several works, filled with the most extravagant errors, as "*De Trinitate*," "*De Matrice Mundi*," "*De Omnibus Sectis salvandis*," "*De futura nativitate Mediatoris*," and several others of the same stamp. He was reprimanded by the Faculty of Theology, and the magistracy of Paris, for these writings, but as he refused to retract them, he was confined in the Monastery of St. Martin des Champes, and there he got the grace of repentance, for he retracted every thing he had written, and subjected all to the judgment of the Church. He then led a most religious life in the Monastery, and died on the 7th of September, 1581, being nearly an hundred years old. Some time previously he published a very useful book, entitled "*De Orbis Concordia*," in which he defends the Catholic Religion against Jews, Gentiles, Mahometans, and heretics of every shade (3).

4.—Benedict Spinosa was born in Amsterdam, in 1632. His parents were Jewish Merchants, who were expelled from Portugal, and, with numbers of their co-religionists, took refuge in Holland. He preferred the Jewish religion at first; he next became a Christian, at least nominally, for it is said he never was baptized; and he ended by becoming an Atheist. He studied Latin and German under a physician, called Francis Van Dendedit, who was afterwards invited to France, and entering into a conspiracy against the King, ended his life on the scaffold; and it is thought that from this man he imbibed the first seeds of

(3) Gotti, loc. cit.; Van Ranst, *sec.* 17, *p.* 346.

Atheism. In his youth he studied the Rabbicinal Theology, but, disgusted with the puerilities and nonsense which form the greater part of it, he gave it up, and applied himself to philosophy, so he was excommunicated by the Jews, and was even in danger of his life from them. He, therefore, separated himself altogether from the Synagogue, and laid the foundation of his Atheistical system. He was a follower of the opinions of Des Cartes, and took his principles as a base on which to establish his own by geometrical dissertations, and he published a treatise to this effect, in 1664. In the following year he published another work, "*De Juribus Ecclesiasticorum,*" in which, following the opinion of Hobbes, he endeavours to prove that priests should teach no other religion but that of the state. Not to be interrupted in his studies, he went into retirement altogether, and published a most pestilent work, "Tractatus Theologica Politicus," which was printed in Amsterdam or Hamburg, and in which he lays down the principles of his Atheistical doctrine.

5.—In this work he speaks of God as the Infinite, the Eternal, the Creator of all things, while, in fact, he denies his existence, and does away with the Divinity altogether, for he says that the world is a mere work of Nature, which necessarily produced all creatures from all eternity. That which we call God, he says, is nothing else but the power of Nature diffused in external objects, which, he says, are all material. The nature of all things, he says, is one substance alone, endowed with extension and mind, and it is *Active* and *Passive;* passive, as to itself—active, inasmuch as it thinks. Hence he supposes that all creatures are nothing but modifications of this substance; the material ones modifications of the passive substance, and the spiritual ones—that is, what we call spiritual, for he insists that all are material—being modifications of the active substance. Thus, according to his opinion, God is, at the same time, Creator and Creation, active and passive, cause and effect. Several authors, as Thomasius, Moseus, Morus, Buet, Bayle, and several others, Protestants even, combated this impious system by their writings. Even Bayle, though an Atheist himself, like Spinosa, refuted it in his Dictionary. I, also, in my work on the Truth of the Faith (4), have

(4) Verita della Fede. Par. 1, *c.* 6, *s.* 5..

endeavoured to show the incoherence of the principles on which he founds his doctrines, and, therefore, I do not give it a particular refutation in this work. Notwithstanding the monstrosity of his system, Spinosa had followers; and it is even said that there are some at present in Holland, though they do not publicly profess it, only among themselves. The work itself was translated into several languages, but its sale was prohibited by the States of Holland. Spinosa died, at the Hague, on the 23rd of February, 1677, in the 59th year of his age. Some say that his servants being all at church on a Sunday, found him dead on their return, but others tell that he was dying of consumption, and feeling death approaching, and knowing that it is natural for every one to call on God, or some superhuman power, to assist him, at that awful moment, he, dreading to call on God for assistance, or to let it be seen that he repented of his doctrine, ordered that no one should be allowed into his chamber, and there at last he was found dead (5).

Article II.

THE ERRORS OF MICHAEL BAIUS.

6.–Michael Baius disseminates his unsound doctrine, and is opposed. 7.–St. Pius V. condemns seventy-nine Propositions of Baius, and he abjures them. 8.–Retractation written by Baius, and confirmed by Pope Urban VIII.

6.—Michael Baius was born in Malines, in Flanders, in 1513, was made a Doctor of the University of Louvain, in 1550, and subsequently Dean of the same University. He was a man of learning, and of an exemplary life, but fond of new opinions, which he maintained in his works, published about 1560 (1), and thus he sowed the first seeds of that discord which disturbed the Church in the following century. Some Franciscan Friars thought his doctrines not sound, and submitted them, in eighteen Chapters, to the Faculty of Sorbonne, and that learned body

(5) Gotti, cit. in fin.

(1) Possevin. *t.* 2, in M. Bajum.

judged them worthy of censure. This only added fuel to the fire, and the party of Baius published an Apology, in opposition to the censures of the Parisian University. Cardinal Commendon, who was then in the Low Countries, sent by the Pope for some other affairs, thought himself called on to interfere, as Apostolic Legate, and imposed silence on both parties, but in vain, for one of the Superiors of the Franciscans punished some of his subjects for defending the doctrines of Baius, and this proceeding caused a great uproar. At last, the Governor of the Low Countries was obliged to interfere, to prevent the dispute from going any further (2).

7.—Some time after this Baius was sent by Philip II., as his Theologian, to the Council of Trent, together with John Hessel, and Cornelius, Bishop of Ghent (not Cornelius Jansenius, Bishop of Ipres), all Doctors of Louvain. His opinions were not examined in the Council of Trent, though he had already printed his works on Free Will, Justification, and Sacrifice. When he returned from the Council, he printed his Treatises on the Merit of Works, the Power of the Wicked, on Sacraments in general, on the Form of Baptism; and hence his opinions were spread more extensively, and disputes grew more violent, so that at last the Holy See was obliged to interfere. St. Pius V. then, in a particular Bull, which begins, "Ex omnibus affectionibus," after a rigorous examination, condemned seventy-nine propositions of Baius (in globo) as heretical, erroneous, suspect, rash, scandalous, and offensive to pious ears, but without specifying them in particular, and with this clause, "that some of them might, in rigour, be sustained, and in the proper sense which the authors had," or as others explain it, "that although some of them might be in some way sustained, still the Pope condemns them in the proper and rigorous sense of the authors." Here are the words of the Bull: "Quas quidem sententias stricto coram nobis examine ponderatas, quamquam nonnullæ aliquo pacto sustineri possent, in rigore et proprio verborum sensu ab assertoribus intento, hæreticas, erroneas, suspectas, temerarias, scandalosas, et in pias aures offensionem immittentes damnamus." The name of Baius was not inserted in the Bull in 1567, nor did Pius command that

(2) Gotti Ver. Rel. *t* 2, *c.* 116; Bernin. *sec* 16.

it should be affixed in the public places, as is customary, but, wishing to act with mildness, consigned it to Cardinal Granvell, Archbishop of Mechlin, then in Rome, telling him to notify it to Baius, and to the University of Louvain, and to punish, by censures or other penalties, all who refused to receive it. The Cardinal discharged his commission by his Vicar, Maximilian Mabillon. The Bull was notified to the University, and accepted by the Faculty, who promised not to defend any more the Articles condemned in it, and Baius promised the same, though he complained that opinions were condemned as his which were not his at all, nor could he be pacified, but wrote to the Pope, in 1569, in his defence. The Pope answered him in a Brief, that his cause had already undergone sufficient examination, and exhorted him to submit to the judgment already passed. This Brief was presented to him by Mabillon, who reprimanded him harshly for daring to write to the Pope, after the sentence had been once given, and intimated to him, that he incurred an Irregularity by the proceeding. Baius then humbled himself, and prayed to be dispensed from the Irregularity. Mabillon answered, that he could not do so till Baius would abjure his errors. He asked to see the Bull, to know what errors he was to abjure. Mabillon said he had not the Bull by him, and prevailed on him there and then to abjure in his hands all his errors. He was then absolved from all censures, without giving any written document, and the matter was private between them (3).

8.—After all that, there were not wanting others who defended the opinions of Baius, so after the death of St. Pius V., his successor, Gregory XIII., in his Bull *Provisionis Nostræ*, expedited in 1579, confirmed the Bull of St. Pius, and published it first in Rome, and then had it presented to the Faculty of Louvain, and to Baius himself, by Father Francis Toledo, afterwards raised to the purple by Clement VIII., who prevailed on Baius to submit quietly, and send a written retractation to the Pope, as follows: "Ego Michael de Bajo agnosco, et profiteor, me ex variis colloquiis cum Rev. P. Francisco Toledo ita motum, et perauctum esse, ut plane mihi habeam persuasum, earum sententiarum damnationem jure factum esse. Fateor insuper ex iisdem sententiis

(3) Gotti, cit. *s.* 3, *n.* 1, 2.

in nonnullis libellis a me in lucem editis contineri in eo sensu, in quo reprobantur. Denique declaro ab illis omnibus me recedere, neque posthac illas defendere velle: Lovanii 24, Mart. 1580." The Faculty of Louvain then passed a law, that no one should be matriculated to the University, unless he first promised to observe the foregoing Bulls. Urban VIII., in the year 1641, in another Bull, which begins, "In eminenti," confirmed the condemnation of Baius, in conformity with the two preceding Bulls, and this Bull was received by the Sorbonne (4). Baius died about the year 1590, and, as he was born in 1513, he must have been seventy-seven years of age. The system of Baius and his errors will be seen in the Refutation XII. of this Volume.

Article III.

THE ERRORS OF CORNELIUS JANSENIUS.

9.–Cornelius, Bishop of Ghent, and Cornelius, Bishop of Ipres; his studies and degrees. 10.–Notice of the condemned work of Jansenius. 11.–Urban VIII. condemns the book of Jansenius in the Bull "In eminenti;" the Bishops of France present the five propositions to Innocent X. 12.–Innocent condemns them in the Bull "Cum occasione;" notice of the Propositions. 13.–Opposition of the Jansenists; but Alexander VIII. declares that the five propositions are extracted from the book, and condemned in the sense of Jansenius; two propositions of Arnauld condemned. 14.–Form of subscription commanded by the Pope to be made. 15.–The religious silence. 16.–The *Case of Conscience* condemned by Clement XI. in the Bull *Vineam Domini*. 16.–The opinion, that the Pontificate of St. Paul was equal to that of St. Peter, condemned.

9.—I should remark, first of all, that there were in Flanders, almost at the same time, two of the name of Cornelius Jansenius, both Doctors and Professors of the renowned University of Louvain. The first was born in Hulst, in the year 1510, and taught theology to the Premonstratentian Monks for twelve years, and during that time composed his celebrated book *Concordia Evangelica*, and added his valuable Commentaries to it.

(4) Gotti, Ver. Rel. *c.* 118, *s.* 1, *n.* 1.

He then returned to Louvain, and was made Doctor. He was next sent to the Council of Trent, by King Philip II., together with Baius, and, on his return, the King appointed him to the Bishopric of Ghent, where, after a holy life, he died in 1576, the sixty-sixth year of his age, leaving, besides his great work, *De Concordia*, several valuable Treatises on the Old Testament (1). The other Jansenius was born in the village of Ackoy, near Leerdam, in Holland, in 1585. He completed his philosophical studies in Utrecht, and his theological in Louvain, and then travelled in France, where he became united in the closest friendship with Jean du Verger de Hauranne, Abbot of St. Cyran. On his return to Louvain he was appointed, at first Professor of Theology, and afterwards of Scripture. His Commentaries on the Pentateuch and Gospels were afterwards printed, and no fault has ever been found with them. He wrote some works of controversy also, in defence of the Catholic Church, against the Ministers of Bois-le-Duc. Twice he went to Spain to arrange some affairs for his University, and at last was appointed Bishop of Ipres, in 1635 (2).

10.—Jansenius never printed his work *Augustinus*, the fruit of twenty years' labour, during his lifetime, but charged his executors to put it to press. In this work, at the end of the book *De Gratia Christi*, in the Epilogue, he says that he does not mean to assert that all that he wrote concerning the Grace of Christ should be held as Catholic doctrine, but that it was all taken from the works of St. Augustin; he, however, declares that he himself is a fallible man, subject to err, and that if the obscurity of some passages in the Saint's works deceived him, that he would be happy to be convinced of his error, and, therefore, he submitted it all to the judgment of the Apostolic See—"Ut illum teneam (he says) si tenendum, damnem si damnandum esse judicaverit" (3). He died on the 6th of May, 1638, and left his book to his chaplain, Reginald Lamée, to be printed, repeating in his will that he did not think there was anything in his book to be corrected, but as it was his intention to die a faithful child of the Roman Church, that he submitted it in everything to the judgment of the Holy See—"Si sedes Romana

(1) Bernin. *t.* 4, *sec.* 18, *l.* 3, in fine.
(2) Bernin. cit.
(3) Gotti, *s.* 3, *n.* 5.

aliquid mutari velit, sum obediens filius, et illius Ecclesiæ, in qua semper vixi, usque ad hunc lectum mortis obediens sum. Ita mea suprema voluntas" (4). Would to God that the disciples imitated their master in obedience to the Holy See, then the disputes and heartburnings which this book caused would never have had existence.

11.—Authors are very much divided regarding the facts which occurred after the death of Jansenius. I will then succinctly state what I can glean from the majority of writers on the subject. It is true he protested, both in the work itself and in his will, that he submitted his book *Augustinus* in everything to the judgment of the Apostolic See; still his executors at once put it into the hands of a printer, and notwithstanding the protest of the author, and the prohibition of the Internuncio and the University of Louvain, it was published in Flanders, in 1640, and in Rouen, in 1643. It was denounced to the Roman Inquisition, and several Theologians composed Theses and Conclusions against it, and publicly sustained them in the University of Louvain. An Apology in favour of the work appeared in the name of the publisher, and soon the press groaned with Treatises in favour of, or opposed to, Jansenius, so that all the Netherlands were disturbed by the dispute. The Congregation of the Inquisition then published a Decree forbidding the reading of Jansenius's work, and also the Conclusions and Theses of his adversaries, and all publications either in favour of or opposed to him. Still peace was not restored; so Urban VIII., to quiet the matter, published a Bull renewing the Constitution of Pius V. and Gregory XIII. In this he prohibited the book of Jansenius, as containing propositions already condemned by his predecessors, Pius V. and Gregory XIII. The Jansenists exclaimed against this Bull; it was, they said, apochryphal, or, at all events, vitiated. Several propositions extracted from the book were presented to the Faculty of Sorbonne, in 1649, to have judgment passed on them, but the Sorbonne refused to interfere, and referred the matter to the judgment of the Bishops, and these, assembled in the name of the Gallican Clergy, in 1653, declined passing any sentence, but referred it alto-

(4) Pallav. His. Con. Trid. *l.* 15, *c.* 7, *n.* 13; Collet. Cont. Tournel. de Grat. 4, *p.* 1.

gether to the judgment of the Pope. Eighty-five Bishops, in 1650, wrote to Pope Innocent X., the successor of Urban, thus (5): "Beatissime Pater, majores causas ad Sedan Apostolicam referre, solemnus Ecclesiæ mos est quem Fides Patri nunquam deficiens perpetuo retineri pro jure suo postulat." They then lay before the Holy Father the five famous propositions extracted from the book of Jansenius, and beg the judgment of the Apostolic See on them.

12.—Innocent committed the examination (6) of these propositions to a Congregation of five Cardinals and thirteen Theologians, and they considered them for more than two years, and held thirty-six Conferences during that time, and the Pope himself assisted at the last ten. Louis de Saint Amour and the other deputies of the Jansenist party, were frequently heard, and finally, on the 31st of May, 1653, the Pope, in the Bull *Cum occasione*, declared the five propositions which follow heretical:—

"First—Some commandments of God are impossible to just men, even when they wish and strive to accomplish them according to their present strength, and grace is wanting to them by which they may be possible to them. This we condemn as rash, impious, blasphemous, branded with anathema, and heretical, and as such we condemn it.

"Second—We never resist interior grace in the state of corrupt nature. This we declare heretical, and as such condemn it.

"Third—To render us deserving or otherwise in the state of corrupt nature, liberty, which excludes constraint, is sufficient. This we declare heretical, and as such condemn it.

"Fourth—The Semipelagians admitted the necessity of interior preventing grace for every act in particular, even for the commencement of the Faith, and in this they were heretics, inasmuch as they wished that this grace was such, that the human will could neither resist it or obey it. We declare this false and heretical, and as such condemn it.

"Fifth—It is Semipelagianism to say that Jesus Christ died or shed his blood for all men in general. This we declare false, rash, scandalous, and, understood in the sense that Christ died

(5) Gotti, loc. cit. *c.* 118. (6) Tournell. loc. cit.

for the salvation of the predestined alone, impious, blasphemous, contumelious, derogatory to the Divine goodness, and heretical, and as such we condemn it."

The Bull also prohibits all the Faithful to teach or maintain the propositions, otherwise they will incur the penalties of heretics. Here are the original propositions:—

"Primam prædictarum Propositionum—Aliqua Dei præcepta hominibus justis volentibus, et conantibus, secundum præsentes quas habent vires, sunt impossibilia; deest quoque illis gratia, qua possibilia fiant: temerariam, impiam, blasphemam, anathemate damnatam, et hæreticam declaramus, et uti talem damnamus.

"Secundam—Interiori gratiæ in statu naturæ lapsæ nunquam resistitur: hæreticam declaramus, et uti talem damnamus.

"Tertiam—Ad merendum, et demerendum in statu naturæ lapsæ non requiritur in homine libertas a necessitate, sed sufficit libertas a coactione: hæreticam declaramas, et uti talem damnamus.

"Quartam—Semipelagiani admittebant prævenientis gratiæ interioris necessitatem ad singulos actus, etiam ad initium Fidei; et in hoc erant hæretici, quod vellent eam gratiam talem esse, cui posset humana voluntas resistere, vel obtemperare: falsam et hæreticam declaramas, et uti talem damnamus.

"Quintam—Semipelagianum est dicere, Christum pro omnibus omnino hominibus mortuum esse, aut Sanguinem fudisse: falsam, temerarium, scandalosam, et intellectam eo sensu, ut Christus pro salute dumtaxat Prædestinatorum mortuus sit, impiam, blasphemam, contumeliosam, Divinæ pietati derogantem, hæreticam declaramus, et uti talem damnamus(7)."

13.—The whole Church accepted the Decree of Innocent, so the partizans of Jansenius made two objections: First—That the five propositions were not those of Jansenius, and secondly, that they were not condemned in the sense of Jansenius, and hence sprung up the famous distinction of Law and Fact—*Juris* and *Facti*. This sprung entirely from the just condemnation of the five propositions. Clement XI., in his Bull of 1705, "*Vineam Domini Sabaoth*," particularly on that account renews the condemnation of the five propositions. Here are his words: "Inquieti homines docere non sunt veriti: Ad obedientiam præfatis

(7) Tournelly, *p.* 250.

Apostolicis Constitutionibus debitam non requiri, ut quis prædicti Janseniani libri sensum in antedictis quinque propositionibus, sicut præmittitur, damnatum interius, ut hæreticum damnet, sed satis esse, ut ea de re obsequiosum (ut ipsi vocant) silentium teneatur. Quæ quidem assertio quam absurda sit, et animabus fidelium perniciosa, satis apparet, dum fallacis hujus doctrinæ pallio non deponitur error, sed absconditur, vulnus tegitur, non curatur, Ecclesiæ illuditur, non paretur, et data demum filiis inobedientiæ via sternitur ad fovendam silentio hæresim, dum ipsam Jansenii doctrinam, quam ab Apostolica Sede damnatam Ecclesia Universalis exhorruit, adhuc interius abjicere, et corde improbare detrectent," &c. Hence, also, the French Bishops assembled in 1654, by a general vote decided that the five propositions were really and truly in the Book of Jansenius, and that they were condemned in the true and natural sense of Jansenius, and the same was decided in six other assemblies; afterwards Alexander VII., in the Bull expedited on the 16th of October, 1656, definitively and expressly declared: "Quinque propositiones ex libro Cornelii Jansenii excerptas ac in sensu ab eodem Cornelio intento damnatus fuisse." About the same time the Faculty of Paris censured a proposition of Arnauld, who asserted (8), "Duas propositiones nec esse in Jansenio nec ejus sensu damnatus fuisse, adeoque circa partem illam Apostolicæ constitutionis sufficere silentium Religionem."

14.—The Gallican Clergy, from 1655 used a Formula as follows: "Quinque Propositiones ex libro Janseni extractas tanquam hæreticas damnatas fuisse in eo ipso sensu quo illas docuit," and prescribed that every one taking Orders should sign it. Several, however, refused obedience, on the plea that unless the Pope commanded them, they could not be obliged to subscribe. A petition was, therefore, sent to Alexander VII., begging him to order it to be done; he consented to the prayer, and issued a Bull on the 15th of February, 1665, sanctioning the formula of an oath to which all should subscribe. Here it is: "Ego N. Constitutioni Alexandri VII., datæ die 16. Octobr. an. 1656, me subjicio, et quinque Propositiones ex Jansenni libro, Augustinus, excerptas, et in sensu ab eodem Auctore intento, prout illas sancta

(8) Libell. inscrip. Second letter de M. Arnauld.

Sedes Apostolica damnavit, sincero animo damno, ac rejicio, et ita juro, sic me Deus adjuvet, et hæc sancta Evangelia." The King sanctioned it also by Royal authority, and severe penalties were imposed on the disobedient (9).

15.—This put the Jansenists into a quandary; some of them said that the oath could not be taken without perjury, but others, of a more hardened conscience, said that it might, for it was enough that the person subscribing should have the intention of following the doctrine of St. Augustine, which, they said, was that of Jansenius, and as to the *fact* externally, it was quite enough to keep a reverent silence, and the Bishops of Alet, Pamiers, Angers, and Beauvais were of this opinion; but under Clement XI., the successor of Alexander VII., they gave in, and consented to subscribe themselves, and oblige their subjects to subscribe the condemnation of the five propositions, without any restriction or limitation, and thus peace was re-established (10). The Jansenists, however, would not still yield; the limitation of the religious silence was, they said, inserted in the Verbal Acts of the Diocesan Synods, and they, therefore, demanded that the silence should be approved by the Pope. In this they acted unreasonably, for the four above-mentioned Bishops were admitted to peaceable communion, on condition of signing *purely, sincerely, and without any limitation whatever* (11). In 1692 some other disputes arose concerning the subscription of the Formula, and the Bishops of Flanders added some other words to it, to remove every means of deception. The Louvanians complained to Innocent XII. of this addition, and he expedited two Briefs, in 1694 and 1696, removing every means of subterfuge (12).

16.—About the year 1702 the Jansenists again raised the point of the religious silence, by the publication of a pamphlet, in which it was said that Sacramental Absolution was denied to a Clergyman, because he asserted that he condemned the five propositions, as far as the law was concerned (jus.,) but as to the fact that they were to be found in Jansenius's book, that he considered it was quite enough to preserve a religious silence on that point. This was the famous *Case of Conscience*, on which forty Doctors of Paris decided that Absolution could not be refused to

(9) Tournelly, *p.* 253.
(10) Ibid. 225.
(11) Tournelly, ibid.
(12) Ibid, *p.* 256.

the Clergyman. The Pope, however, condemned this pretended silence, by a formal decree, "Ad perpetuam rei memoriam," on the 12th of January, 1703. Many of the French Bishops, also, condemned it, and more especially Cardinal de Noailles, Archbishop of Paris, who likewise obliged the forty Doctors to retract their decision, with the exception of one alone, who refused, and was, on that account, dismissed from the Sorbonne, and that famous Faculty also branded their decision as rash and scandalous, and calculated to renew the doctrines of Jansenius, condemned by the Church. Clement XI. expedited another Bull, *Vineam Domini*, &c., on the 16th of July, 1705, condemning the "Case of Conscience," with various notes. All this was because the distinction of Law and Fact (Juris et Facti) was put forth to elude the just and legitimate condemnation of the five propositions of Jansenius. This is the very reason Clement himself gives for renewing the condemnation. His Bull was accepted by the whole Church, and, first of all, by the assembly of the Gallican Church; thus the Jansenists could no longer cavil at the condemnation of the Book of their Patron (13). In the Refutation of the errors of Jansenism, we will respond to their subterfuges in particular.

17.—We may as well remark here, that about this time an anonymous work appeared, entitled, "De SS. Petri et Pauli Pontificatu," in which the writer endeavoured to prove that St. Paul was, equally with St. Peter, the Head of the Church. The author's intention was not to exalt the dignity of St. Paul, but to depress the primacy of St. Peter, and, consequently, of the Pope. The Book was referred to the Congregation of the Index, by Innocent XI., and its doctrine condemned as heretical by a public Decree (14). The author lays great stress on the ancient practice used in Pontifical Decrees, that of painting St. Paul on the right, and St. Peter on the left. That, however, is no proof that St. Paul was equally the Head of the Church, and exercised equal authority with St. Peter, for not to him, but St. Peter, did Christ say, "Feed my sheep." Hence, St. Thomas says (15), "Apostolus fuit par Petro in execution, authoritatis, non in auctoritate regiminis." Again, if the argument be allowed, that, because St. Paul was painted to the right of St. Peter, he was equal to him, would

(13) Jour. 257.
(14) Gotti, *c.* 118, *s.* 4.
(15) St. Thom. in cap. ii, ad Galatas.

it not prove even that he was superior? Some say that he was painted so, because, according to the Roman custom, as is the case in the East, the left hand place was more honourable than the right. Others, as St. Thomas (16), give a different explanation. Bellarmine may be consulted on this point (17). The author also quotes, in favour of his opinion, the lofty praises given by the holy Fathers to St. Paul; but that is easily answered. He was praised, as St. Thomas says, more than the other Apostles, on account of his special election, and his greater labours and sufferings in preaching the Faith through the whole world (18). Not one of the Fathers, however, makes him superior or equal to St. Peter, for the Church of Rome was not founded by him but by St. Peter.

Article IV.

18.–Quesnel is dismissed from the Congregation of the Oratory. 19.–He publishes several unsound works in Brussels. 20.–Is imprisoned, escapes to Amsterdam, and dies excommunicated. 21.–The Book he wrote. 22.–The Bull "Unigenitus," condemning the Book. 23.–The Bull is accepted by the King, the Clergy, and the Sorbonne; the followers of Quesnel appeal to a future Council. 24.–Several Bishops also, and Cardinal de Noailles, appeal to a future Council likewise, but the Council of Embrun declares that the appeal should not be entertained. 25.–The Consultation of the Advocates rejected by the assembly of the Bishops; Cardinal de Noailles retracts, and accepts the Bull; the Bull is declared dogmatical by the Sorbonne and the Bishops. 26.–Three principles of the system of Quesnel.

18.—While Clement XI. still sat on the Chair of St. Peter, Quesnel published his book, entitled, "The New Testament, with Moral Reflections," &c., which the Pope soon after prohibited by the Bull *Unigenitus*. Quesnel was born in Paris, on the 14th of July, 1634, and in 1657, was received by Cardinal de Berulle into his Congregation of the Oratory. In a General Assembly of the Oratory of France, held in 1678, it was ordained that each member of the Congregation should sign a Formula, condemnatory of the doctrine of Baius and Jansenius, but Quesnel

(16) St. Thomas in cap. i, ad Gal. *l.* 1.
(17) Bell. de Rom. Pontiff, *c.* 27.
(18) St. Thom. in II. Cor. *l.* 3, *c. n.*

refused obedience, and was consequently obliged to quit the Congregation, and left Paris; he then retired to Orleans (1).

19.—As he was not in safety in France, he went to Brussels, in 1685, and joined Arnauld, who had fled previously, and was concealed there, and they conjointly published several works, filled with Jansenistic opinions. They were both banished from Brussels, in 1690, and went to Delft, in Holland, first—afterwards, to the Pais de Liege—and then again returned to Brussels. Quesnel, after having administered the last Sacraments to Arnauld, changed his dress, adopted a feigned name, and lived concealed in that city, where he was elected by the Jansenists as their chief, and was called by them the "Father Prior." From his hiding place, he unceasingly sent forth various pamphlets, defending and justifying his conduct, in opposing the Decrees of the Popes, and the Ordinances of the Sovereigns, condemning the Appellants. This appears from the sentence passed on his conduct, by the Archbishop of Mechlin (2).

20.—The Archbishop of Mechlin, in 1703, determined to extirpate the tares sown by the works of Quesnel, and, empowered by the authority of the King of Spain, his Sovereign, caused a strict search to be made for the author and his faithful friend, Gerberonius, and on the 30th of May, they were both confined in the Archiepiscopal prison. Gerberonius remained there until 1710, when Cardinal de Noailles induced him to retract and sign the Formula, and he was liberated, but Quesnel was detained only about three months, having escaped through a small hole made in the wall by his friend (he was a very small man), and taken refuge in Holland, where he continued to write in favour of Jansenism. He was called a *second Paul*, after his escape, by his disciples, and he himself, writing to the Vicar of Mechlin, says, that he was liberated from his prison by an angel like St. Peter. The difference was great, however; St. Peter did not concert the means of escape with his friends outside, by writing with a nail on a plate of lead, and telling them to break a hole at night through a certain part of the wall of his prison, as Quesnel did (3). A process was instituted against him in

(1) Tour. Comp. Theol *t.* 5, *p.* 1, *Diss.*9, *p.* 396.

(2) Tour. *p.* 397; Gotti, *c.* 119, *s.* 1, *n.* 3.

(3) Tour. *p.* 399; Gotti, *n.* 5.

Brussels, and on the 10th of November, 1704, the Archbishop declared him excommunicated, guilty of Jansenism and Baiism, and condemned him to inclusion in a Monastery till the Pope would absolve him (4). Quesnel took no other notice of the sentence than by writing several pamphlets against the Archbishop, and even attacked the Pope himself, for the condemnation of his works. The unfortunate man, obstinate to the last, died under Papal censure, in Amsterdam, on the 2nd of December, 1719, in the eighty-fifth year of his age (5).

21.—We should remark concerning the book of Quesnel, "The New Testament with Moral Reflections," &c. (it was published in French), that in 1671, while he still lived in France, he only published, at first, a small work in *duodecimo*, containing the French translation of the Four Gospels, and some very short reflections, extracted principally from a collection of the words of Christ, by Father Jourdan, Superior of the Oratory. By degrees, he added to it, so that sixteen years after the printing of the first edition, in 1687, he published another, in three small volumes, adding other reflections on the whole of the New Testament. In 1693, he published another larger edition in eight volumes, and another again in 1695, with the approbation of Cardinal de Noailles, then Bishop of Chalons, first making some slight corrections on the edition of 1693. He published the last edition of all in 1699, but this had not the approbation of the Cardinal. In a word, for twenty-two years, that is from 1671 to 1693, he laboured to perfect this work, but not correcting, but rather adding to the errors that deformed it; for in the first edition five errors alone were condemned—the twelfth, thirteenth, thirtieth, sixty-second, and sixty-fifth; in the second, more than forty-five were published; and they amounted up to the number of one hundred and one in the later editions, when they were condemned by the Bull *Unigenitus*. We should observe, that it was only the first edition of 1671, that had the approbation of the Bishop of Chalons, and the subsequent editions, containing more than double the matter of the first, were printed with only the approbation given in 1671 (6). The followers of Quesnel boast, that the work was generally approved of by all; but

(4) Tour. *p.* 405.
(5) Tour. *d.* 406.
(6) Tour. *p.* 409, 410.

Tournelly (7) shows that the greater part of the Doctors and Bishops of France condemned it. They also boast that Bossuet gave it his approval, but there are several proofs, on the contrary, to show that he condemned it (8).

22.—When the complete work appeared in 1693, it was at once censured by Theologians, and prohibited by several Bishops, and it was condemned by a particular Brief of Pope Clement XI., in 1708. Three French Bishops prohibited it by a formal condemnation in 1711, and Cardinal de Noailles felt so mortified at seeing these Edicts published in Paris, condemning a work marked with his approbation, as heretical, that he condemned the three Edicts. This excited a great tempest in France, so the King, with the consent of several Bishops, and of Cardinal de Noailles himself, requested Pope Clement XI. to cause a new examination of the work to be made, and, by a solemn Bull, to censure any errors it might contain. The Pope, then, after, two years' examination by Cardinals and Theologians, published in 1713, on the 8th of September, the Bull *Unigenitus Dei Filius*, &c., in which he condemned a hundred and ten propositions, extracted from the work, as false, captious, rash, erroneous, approximating to heresy, and in fine, respectively heretical, and recalling the propositions of Jansenius, in the sense in which they were condemned. The Bull, besides, declared that it was not the intention of his Holiness to approve of all else contained in the work, because while marking these hundred and ten propositions, it declares that it contains others of a like nature, and that even the very text of the New Testament itself, was vitiated in many parts (9).

23.—His Most Christian Majesty, on the reception of the Bull of Clement from the Nuncio, ordered an assembly of the Bishops, to receive and promulgate it solemnly, and, in fact, after several private Conferences, the Assembly was held on the 23rd of January, 1714, and the Bull was received, together with the condemnation of the hundred and one propositions, in the same manner as the Pope had condemned them, and a form of acceptation was drawn up for all the Bishops of the kingdom, that the Bull might be everywhere promulgated, and also a For-

(7) Tour. *p.* 412.
(8) Tour. *p* 419.
(9) Tour. *p.* 426 & seq.; Gotti, *s.* 2, *n.* 3, 4.

mula by which the Clergy should declare their acceptance of it. The followers of Quesnel said, that the form of Acceptation was restricted and conditional, but if we take the trouble of reading the Declaration of the Assembly, given word for word by Tournelly (*P.* 431), we will clearly see that there is neither restriction nor condition in it. This Declaration was subscribed by forty Bishops; eight alone refused, and the principal among them was Cardinal de Noailles; they had some difficulty, they said, about some of the condemned propositions, and considered it would be wise to ask an explanation from the Pope on the subject. When the acceptation of the Bull, by the Assembly, was notified to Louis XIV., he ordered, on the 14th of the following month of February, that it should be promulgated and put into execution through the whole kingdom. The Bishops wrote to the Pope in the name of the Assembly, that they had received the Bull with joy, and would use all their endeavours that it should be faithfully observed; and the Pope, in his reply, congratulated them on their vigilance, and complained of those few Bishops who refused to conform to the Assembly. The Faculty of Paris, also, accepted the Bull on the 5th of March, 1714, imposing a penalty, to be incurred, *ipso facto*, by all members of the University refusing its acceptance. It was received in the same way by the other Universities, native and foreign, as Douay, Ghent, Nantz, Louvain, Alcala, and Salamanca (10). Notwithstanding all, the partizans of Quesnel scattered pamphlets on every side against the Bull. Two of them, especially, made the most noise, the "Hexaplis," and the "Testimony of the Truth of the Church;" these were both condemned by the Bishops congregated in 1715, and those who still continued pertinaciously attached to their erroneous opinions, had only then recourse to an appeal from the Bull of the Pope to a General Council.

24.—Four Bishops, to wit, those of Montpelier, Mirepoix, Sens, and Boulogne, appealed on the 1st of March, 1717, from the Bull *Unigenitus*, to a future General Council. These four were soon after joined by twelve others, and soon after that by eighteen dissentients. This was the first time in the Catholic Church, that it was ever known that the Bishops of the very

(9) Tour. cit.

Sees where a Dogmatical Bull was accepted, appealed against it. The appeal was, therefore, justly rejected by both the secular and Ecclesiastical authorities. In the year 1718, Cardinal de Noailles subscribed to the appeal of the Bishops, but still it was annulled by the Pope, and towards the end of the year 1718, about fifty of the Bishops of France published commandments to their Diocesans, ordering them to yield unreserved obedience to the Bull: "Quippe quæ universalis est Ecclesia judicium Dogmaticum, a quo omnis appellatio est nulla" (11). The defenders of Quesnel only became more violent in their opposition to the Bishops after this, and the press groaned with their pamphlets; so in the year 1727, a Provincial Council was held at Embrun, in which the Bishop of Sens was suspended for refusing to subscribe to the Bull which was declared to be the dogmatical and unchangeable judgment of the Church, and it decided that the appeal was, *ipso jure*, schismatical, and of no avail. The whole proceeding there received the sanction of the Pope, Benedict XIII., and the King (12).

25.—The Appellants then had recourse to the lawyers of Paris, and they published a "Consultum," in which they undertook to invalidate the judgment of the Council, on account of several irregularities. They were then joined by twelve Bishops, who signed a letter to the King, against the Council, but he strongly censured the production, and ordered that all the Bishops should be assembled in Paris in an extraordinary Assembly, and record their opinion on the Consultum of the lawyers. On the 5th of May, 1728, the Prelates assembled, and made a representation to the King that the Consultum was not only not to the point, but that it smelt of heresy, and was in fact heretical. The King, therefore, published a particular Edict, ordering the Consultum to be set aside (13). Soon after this, in the same year, Cardinal de Noailles, now very far advanced in years, yielded to the admonition of Benedict XIII., and revoked his appeal, and sincerely accepted the Bull, prohibiting all his Diocesans from reading Quesnel's works. He sent his retractation to the Pope, who was delighted to receive it. In about six months after, he died (14). In the year 1729, the Faculty of

(11) Tour. cit.
(12) Tour. cit.
(13) Tour. cit.
(14) Tour. cit.

the Sorbonne again solemnly accepted the Bull, and revoked as far as was necessary (quantum opus est), the appeal which appeared under the name of the Faculty. The Decree was signed by more than six hundred Masters, and was confirmed by the other Universities of the kingdom, and by the Assembly of the Clergy, in 1730. Finally, the whole proceeding was approved by Clement XII. in the same year, and the King ordered, by a solemn Edict, that the Bull should be observed as the perpetual law of the Church, and of the Kingdom. On the death of Benedict XIII., in 1730, his successors, Clement XII. and Benedict XIV., confirmed the Bull (15).

26.—Before we conclude Quesnel's history, we may as well see what his system was. It comprised, properly speaking, three condemned systems—those of Baius, of Jansenius, and of Richer. The first condemned propositions of Quesnel agree with Jansenius's system of the two delectations, without deliberation, the celestial and the terrestrial, one of which necessarily, by a relative necessity, conquers the other. From this false principle several dreadful consequences follow, such as that it is impossible for those persons to observe the Divine law who have not efficacious grace; that we never can resist efficacious grace; that the *delectatio victrix*, or conquering delectation, drives man of necessity to consent; and several other maxims condemned in the five propositions of Jansenius. Some also, I recollect, savour of the doctrine condemned in the second, ninth, and tenth Propositions of Quesnel. In his second Proposition he says: "Jesu Christi gratia, principium efficax boni cujuscunque generis, necessaria est ad omne opus bonum; absque illa (here is the error) non solum nihil fit, sed nec fieri potest." Hence he re-establishes the first Proposition of Jansenius, that some of the Commandments of God are impossible to those who have not efficacious grace. Arnold, as Tournelly tells us, asserted the same thing, when he says (16) that Peter sinned in denying Jesus Christ, because he wanted grace, and for this he was condemned by the Sorbonne, and his name expunged from the list of Doctors. Quesnel says just the same in his ninth proposition: "Gratia Christi est gratia suprema, sine qua confiteri Christum (mark this) nunquam

(15) Tour. cit.

(16) Apud Tour. *p.* 745.

possumus, et cum qua nunquam illum abnegamus;" and in the tenth proposition: "Gratia est operatio manus Omnipotentis Dei, quam nihil impedire potest aut retardare." Here another of the heretical dogmas of Jansenius is renewed: "Interiori gratiæ nunquam resistitur." In fine, if we investigate the doctrines of both, we will find Jansenius and Quesnel perfectly in accordance.

27.—Quesnel's propositions also agree with the doctrine of Baius, who says, that between vicious concupiscence and supernatural charity, by which we love God above all things, there is no middle love. Thus the forty-fourth Proposition of Quesnel says: "Non sunt nisi duo amores, unde volitiones et actiones omnes nostræ nascuntur: amor Dei, qui omne agit propter Deum, quemque Deus remuneratur, et amor quo nos ipsos, ac mundum diligimus, qui, quod ad Deum referendum est, non refert, et propter hoc ipsum sit malus." The impious deductions from this system of Baius the reader will find in the Refutation of his heresy (*Conf.* xii).

28.—The last Propositions of Quesnel agree with the doctrine of Richer, condemned in the Councils of Sens and Bagneres. See his ninetieth Proposition: "Ecclesia auctoritatem excommunicandi habet, ut eam exerceat per primos Pastores, de consensu saltem præsumpto totius Corporis." As the Bishops said in the Assembly, in 1714, this was a most convenient doctrine for the Appellants, for as they considered themselves the purest portion of the Church, they never would give their consent to the censures fulminated against them, and, consequently, despised them.

Article V.

THE ERRORS OF MICHAEL MOLINOS.

29.–The unsound Book of Molinos called the "Spiritual Guide." 30.–His impious Doctrine, and the consequences deduced from it. 31.–His affected sanctity; he is found out and imprisoned, with two of his disciples. 32.–He is condemned himself, as well as his Works; he publicly abjures his errors, and dies penitent. 33.–Condemnation of the Book entitled "The Maxims of the Saints."

29.—The heresy of the Beghards, of which we have already treated (*Chap.* x, *art.* iv, *n.* 31), was the source of the errors of Molinos. He was born in the Diocese of Saragossa, in Arragon, and published his book, with the specious title of "The Spiritual Guide, which leads the Soul by an interior way to the acquisition of perfect contemplation, and the rich treasure of internal Grace." It was first printed in Rome, next in Madrid, then in Saragossa, and finally in Seville, so that in a little time the poison infected Spain, Rome, and almost all Italy. These maxims were so artfully laid down, that they were calculated to deceive not alone persons of lax morality, who are easily led astray, but even the purest souls, given totally to prayer. We ought to remark, also, that the unfortunate man did not, in this book, teach manifest errors, though he opened a door by it for the introduction of the most shocking principles (1).

30.—Hence, the consequence was, that those who studied this work were oppressed, as it were, by a mortal lethargy of contemplation and false quietism. Men and women used to meet together in conventicles, professing this new sort of contemplation; they used to go to Communion satisfied with their own spirit, without confession or preparation; they frequented the churches like idiots, gazing on vacancy, neither looking to the altar where the Holy Sacrament was kept, nor exciting their devotion by contemplating the Sacred Images, and neither saying

(1) Bernin. Hist. de Heres. *t.* 4, *sec.* 17, *c.* 8; Gotti, Ver. Rel. 120.

a prayer, nor performing any other act of devotion. It would be all very well if they were satisfied with this idle contemplation and imaginary quietude of spirit, but they constantly fell into gross acts of licentiousness, for they believed that, while the soul was united with God, it was no harm to allow the body unbridled license in sensuality, all which, they said, proceeded solely from the violence of the devil, or the animal passions; and they justified this by that text of Job (xvi, 18): "These things have I suffered without the iniquity of my hand, when I offered pure prayers to God." Molinos, in his forty-ninth Proposition, gives an impious explanation to this text; "Job ex violentia Dæmonis se propriis manibus polluebat," &c. (2).

31.—This hypocrite lived in Rome unfortunately for twenty-two years, from the year 1665 till 1687, and was courted by all, especially by the nobility, for he was universally esteemed as a holy man, and an excellent guide in the way of spiritual life. His serious countenance, his dress neglected, but always clerical, his long and bushy beard, his venerably old appearance, and his slow gait—all were calculated to inspire devotion; and his holy conversation caused him to be venerated by all who knew him. The Almighty at length took compassion on his Church, and exposed the author of such iniquity. Don Inigo Carracciolo, Cardinal of St. Clement, discovered that the Diocese of Naples was infected with the poisonous error, and immediately wrote to the Pope, imploring him to arrest the progress of the heresy by his supreme authority, and several other Bishops, not only in Italy, but even in France, wrote to the same effect. When his Holiness was informed of this, he published a circular letter through Italy, pointing out, not so much the remedy as the danger of the doctrine, which was extending itself privately. The Roman Inquisitors then, after taking information on the subject, drew up a secret process against Molinos, and ordered his arrest. He was, accordingly, taken up, with two of his associates, one a Priest of the name of Simon Leone, and the other a layman, called Anthony Maria, both natives of the village of Combieglio, near Como, and all three were imprisoned in the Holy Office (3).

(2) Gotti, *n.* 2, 3.

(3) Gotti, loc. cit. *n.* 4, 5, 6.

32.—The Inquisition, on the 24th of November, 1685, prohibited the "Spiritual Guide" of Molinos, and on the 28th of August, 1687, condemned all his works, and especially sixty-eight Propositions extracted from his perfidious book "The Guide," and of which he acknowledged himself the author, as we read in Bernino (4). He was condemned himself, together with his doctrine, and after twenty-two months' imprisonment, and the conviction of his errors and crimes, he professed himself prepared to make the act of abjuration. On the 3rd of September, then, in 1687, he was brought to the Church of "the Minerva," before an immense concourse of people, and was placed by the officials in a pulpit, and commenced his abjuration. While the process was read, at the mention of every heretical proposition and every indecent action proved against him, the people cried out with a loud voice, "*fuoco, fuoco*"—"burn him." When the reading of the process was concluded, he was conducted to the feet of the Commissary of the Holy Office, and there solemnly abjured the errors proved against him, received absolution, was clothed with the habit of a penitent, and received the usual strokes of a rod on the shoulders; he was then again conducted back to the prison of the Holy Office by the guards, a small apartment was assigned to him, and he lived for ten years with all the marks of a true penitent, and died with these happy dispositions. Immediately after his abjuration, Pope Innocent XI. published a Bull on the 4th of September, 1687, again condemning the same Propositions already condemned by the Holy Inquisition; and on the same day the two brothers, the disciples of Molinos, Anthony Maria and Simon Leone, already mentioned, made their abjuration, and gave signs of sincere repentance (5).

33.—About the end of the 17th century there was a certain lady in France, Madame Guion, who, filled with false notions of spiritual life, published several manuscripts, against which Bossuet, the famous Bishop of Meaux, wrote his excellent work, entitled "De Statibus Orationis," to crush the evil in the bud. Many, however, deceived by this lady's writings, took up her defence, and among these was Fenelon, the Archbishop of Cambray, who published another work, with the title of "Ex-

(4) Bernin. loc. cit.

(5) Bernin. 4, *c.* 8.

planation of the Maxims of the Saints on Interior Life." This book was at once condemned by Innocent XII., who declared that the doctrine of the work was like that of Molinos. When Fenelon heard that his book was condemned, he at once not only obeyed the decision of the Pope, but even published a public Edict, commanding all his Diocesans to yield obedience to the Pontifical Decree (6). The Propositions condemned by the Pope in this book were twenty-three in number; they were condemned on the 12th of March, 1699, and Cardinal Gotti gives them without curtailment.

SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER.

HERESIES OF THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES.

1.–Introductory matter. 2.–Rationalists. 3–Hernhutters, or Moravians. 4–.Swedenborgians, or New Jerusalemites. 5 –Methodism; Wesley. 6, 7.–Doctrines and practices of the Methodists. 8.–Johanna Southcott. 9.–Mormonism. 10.–German Catholics.

1.—The holy author, as the reader may perceive, concludes his History of Heresies with the account of the famous Bull *Unigenitus*, which gave the death-blow to Jansenism. He brings down the history of this most dangerous of sects and its ramifications to the Pontificate of Benedict XIV. A little more than a century has elapsed since, and though heresy has produced nothing new—for every heresiarch only reproduces the errors of his predecessors—still it will not, I hope, be ungrateful to the reader to have before him a succinct account of the sectaries who have since appeared, especially the Methodists, the most numerous, and, on many accounts, the most remarkable body of the present day. It is a fact which every close observer must be

(6) Gotti, Ver. Rel. *c.* 5.

aware of, that heresy naturally tends to infidelity. When once we lose hold of the anchor of Faith, and set up our own fallible judgments in opposition to the authority of the Church, we are led on from one false consequence to another, till in the end we are inclined to reject Revelation altogether. Such is the case, especially in Germany at the present day, where Rationalism has usurped the place of Religion, and infidelity is promulgated from the Theological Chair. It is true that in Catholic countries infidelity has also not alone appeared, but subverted both the throne and altar, and shaken society to its very foundations; but there it is the daughter of indifferentism. Lax morality produces unbelief, and those whose lives are totally opposed to the austere rule of the Gospel, are naturally anxious to persuade themselves that Religion is altogether a human invention. This madness, however, passes away after a time. Religion is too deeply rooted in the hearts of a truly Catholic people to be destroyed by it. The storm strips the goodly tree of a great deal of its fruit and foliage, the rotten branches are snapped off, and the dead and withered leaves are borne away, but the vital principle of the trunk remains untouched, and in due season produces again fruit a hundred-fold.

2.—That free spirit of inquiry, the boast of Protestantism, which, rejecting all authority, professes to be guided by reason alone, produced Rationalism. Luther and Calvin rejected several of the most important Articles of the Christian Faith. Why should not their followers do the same? They appealed to reason—so did their disciples; one mystery after another was swept away, till Revelation, we may say, totally disappeared, and nothing but the name of Religion remained. The philosopher Kant laid down a system, by which *True* and *Ecclesiastical* Religion were distinguished. True Religion is the Religion of Reason; Ecclesiastical, the Religion of Revelation, and this is only a vehicle for conveying the truths of natural Religion. By this rule, then, the Scriptures were interpreted. Nothing but what reason could measure was admitted; every mystery became a *Myth:* miracles were all the effects of natural causes, working on an unenlightened and wonder-loving people. Hetzel, Eichhorn, the Rosenmullers, promulgated these blasphemies. Strauss, in his "Life of Christ," upsets all Revelation; and Becker

teaches that St. John the Baptist and our Lord, with the determination of upsetting the Jewish Hierarchy, whose pride and tyranny they could not bear, plotted together, and agreed that one should play the part of the precursor, and the other of the Messiah. Such is the woful state of Continental Protestantism, and the worst of it is, that it is a necessary consequence of the fundamental principle of the Reformation, "unrestricted liberty of opinion" (1).

3.—In contra-distinction to the Rationalists, we have the Pietists in Germany, who cannot so much be called a sect as a party. They date their origin from Spener, who flourished in Frankfort in the sixteenth century, and caused a great deal of disturbance in the Lutheran Church in that and the following age. They are entitled to our notice here, as from some of their doctrines originated some extraordinary sects. Among these may be ranked the Hernhutters, otherwise called Moravians, and by themselves, "United Brethren." They assert that they are the descendants of the Bohemian and Moravian Hussites of the fifteenth century; but it is only in the last century they appeared as a distinct and organized sect, and now they are not only numerous and wealthy, but have formed establishments—partly of a Missionary and partly of a trading character—in many parts of the world, from Labrador to Southern Africa. Their founder was Count Zinzendorf, who, in 1721, on attaining his majority, purchased an estate called Bertholsdorf, in Lusatia, and collected round him a number of followers, enthusiasts in religion, like himself. A carpenter of the name of Christian David, came to join him from Moravia, and was followed by many of his countrymen, and they built a new town on the estate, which was at first, from the name of a neighbouring village, called Huthberg, but they changed it to Herren Huth, the Residence of the Lord, and from that the sect took its name. They profess to follow the Confession of Augsburg, but their government is totally different from that of Lutheranism. They have both Bishops and Elders, but the former have no governing power; they are merely appointed to ordain, and, individually, are but members of the general governing consistory. Zinzendorf

(1) Perron. de Protes.

himself travelled all over Europe, to disseminate his doctrines, and twice visited America. He died in 1760 (2). The doctrines preached by this enthusiast were of the most revolting and horrible nature. All we read of the abominations of the early Gnostics is nothing, compared to the revolting and blasphemous obscenity to be found in his works. An attempt has been made by some of his followers to defend him, but in vain, and it is truly a melancholy feeling to behold the sacred name of Religion prostituted to such vile abominations (3).

4.—Emmanuel Swedenborg, the founder of the New Jerusalemites, was another extraordinary fanatic, and his case is most remarkable, since he was a man of profound learning, a civil and military engineer, and the whole tenor of his studies was calculated to banish any tendency to mystic fanaticism which might have been interwoven in his nature. He was born in Stockholm, in 1689, and was the son of the Lutheran Bishop of West Gotha. From his earliest days he applied himself to the study of science, under the best masters, and made such progress, that he published some works at the age of twenty. His merit recommended him to his Sovereign, Charles XII., the warrior King of Sweden, and he received an appointment as Assessor of the College of Mines. At the siege of Frederickshall, in 1713, he accomplished an extraordinary work, by the transmission of the siege artillery over the ridge of mountains which separates Sweden from Norway. It was considered one of the boldest attempts of military engineering ever accomplished. His application to study was continual, and from time to time he published works which gave him a European scientific reputation. It would have been well for himself had he never meddled in theological speculations; but his extravagances prove that the strongest minds, when destitute of faith, fall into the grossest errors. His system was, that there is a spiritual world around us corresponding in every thing to the material world we inhabit. He used himself, he assures us, converse with people in the most distant climes, and was in daily communication with those who were dead for ages. When a man dies, he says, he

(2) Encyc. Brit. Art. Zinzendorf and United Brethren.

(3) Mosheim, Cent. XVIII.

exchanges his *material* body, of which there is no resurrection, for a *substantial* one, and can immediately enjoy all the pleasures of this life, even the most gross, just as if he were still in the flesh. In fact, a man frequently does not well know whether he is living or dead. Jesus Christ is God himself, in human form, who existed from all eternity, but became incarnate in time to bring the hells, or evil spirits, into subjection. He admitted a Trinity of his own, consisting of the Divinity, the Humanity, and the Operation. This Trinity commenced only at the Incarnation. He travelled through a great part of Europe, disseminating his doctrines, and finally died in London, in 1772, and was buried in the Swedish Church, Ratcliffe Highway. His followers have increased since his death, but they still only form small and obscure congregations. They style themselves "the Church of the New Jerusalem."

5.—The Patriarch of Methodism was John Wesley, who was born in 1703, at Epworth, in Lincolnshire, of which place his father was rector. At the age of seventeen he was sent to the University of Oxford, and being more seriously inclined than the generality of young men there, applied himself diligently to his studies. One of his favourite books at that period was the famous work of Thomas á Kempis, "The Imitation of Christ." During his long and varied life this golden work was his manual, and he published even an edition of it himself in 1735, but, as should be expected, corrupted and mutilated. His brother Charles, a student like himself, at Oxford, and a few other young men, formed themselves into a Society for Scripture reading and practices of piety, and, as the state of morals was peculiarly lax in that seat of learning, they were jeered by their fellow-students, called the Godly Club, and, on account of their methodical manner of living, were nicknamed "Methodists," which afterwards became the general designation of the whole sect or society in all its numerous subdivisions. Wesley was ordained in the Anglican Church, and assisted his father for a while as curate, till an appointment was offered him in Georgia. He sailed, accordingly, for America, in company with his brother and two others. He led quite an ascetic life at this period, slept frequently on the bare boards, and continually practised mortification. He remained in America till 1738, and then returned to England. He

was disappointed in a matrimonial speculation while there, and had a law-suit also on hands. Like all Protestant Apostles, a comfortable settlement in life appeared to him the first consideration. This is one of the principal causes of the sterility of all their missions; if, however, they do not seek first the kingdom of God, they take care that all other things that the world can afford shall be added to them, as the investigations into the land tenures of New Zealand and the islands of the Pacific bear witness. While in America he associated a great deal with the Moravians, and became imbued, to a great extent, with their peculiar doctrines of grace, the new birth, and justification, and on his return paid a visit to Herrenhutt, to commune with Zinzendorf. He was not at all popular in America; he appears to have been a proud, self-opinionated man, filled up with an extraordinary idea of his own perfections. Indeed, it only requires a glance at his Diary, which, it would appear, he compiled, not so much for his own self-examination as for making a display before others, to be convinced that he was a vain, proud man. He was always a determined enemy of Catholicity, and for his bigoted attacks on Popery, he received a just castigation from the witty and eloquent Father O'Leary. He dates the origin of Methodism himself from a meeting held in Fetter-lane, London, on the 1st of May, 1738. "The first rise of Methodism," he says, "was in November, 1729, when four of us met together at Oxford; the second was in Savannah, in April, 1736, when twenty or thirty persons met at my house; the last in London, when forty or fifty of us agreed to meet together every Wednesday evening, in order to free conversation, begun and ended with singing and prayer." Whitfield, a fellow-student of Wesley, began to preach at this time to numerous congregations in the open air. He was a man of fervid eloquence, and the people, deserted, in a great measure, by the parsons of the Anglican church, flocked in crowds to hear him, and as he could not obtain leave to preach in the churches, he adopted the system of field-preaching. His doctrine was thoroughly Calvinistic, and this was, ultimately, the cause of a separation between him and Wesley. Indeed it would appear Wesley could bear no competitor. He ruled his society most absolutely; appointed preachers, and removed them, according to his own will—changed them from one station to another, or dis-

missed them altogether, just as he pleased. One of the most extraordinary proceedings of his life, however, was his ordaining a Bishop for the States of America. Both he and Whitfield planted Methodism in our Colonies in North America, and the people, always desirous of religion, ardently took up with it, since no better was provided for them. When the revolutionary war commenced, Wesley wrote a bitter tract against "the Rebels," and were it not suppressed in time, his name would be branded with infamy by the patriotic party. The fate of war, however, favoured the "Rebels," and our *consistent* preacher immediately veered round. He was now the apologist of insurrection, and besought them to stand fast by the liberty God gave them. What opinion can we hold of the principles of a man who acts thus? But to return to the Ordination. Wesley always professed himself not only a member of the Anglican church but a faithful observer of its doctrines, articles, and homilies. His followers in America, however, called loudly for ministers or preachers, and then he became convinced that there was no distinction in fact between Presbyters and Bishops, and thus with the 23rd and 36th articles of his church staring him in the face, he not alone ordained priests, as he called them, but actually consecrated Coke a Bishop for the North American congregations. "God," says Coke, "raised up Wesley as a light and guide in his Church; he appointed to all offices, and, consequently, had the right of appointing Bishops." We would wish, however, to have some proof of the Divine mission of Wesley, such as the Apostles gave, when "they went forth and preached every where, the Lord working withal, and confirming the Word with the signs that followed" (Mark, xvi, 20). He travelled through England, Scotland, and Ireland, preaching in towns, hamlets, and villages, and, as usual, giving "Popery" a blow, whenever he had an opportunity. He married, when advanced in years, but soon separated from his wife, by whom he had no children. He appears, on the whole, to be a man of most unamiable character, and though God was constantly on his lips, self was always predominant. He died in London in 1781, in the eighty-eighth year of his age.

6.—It is rather difficult to give a precise account of the doctrines of Methodism. Wesley always professed himself a member

of the Church of England, and maintained that his doctrine was that of the Anglican Church, but we see how far he deviated from it in the Ordination affair. Whitfield was a Calvinist, and some of the first Methodists were Moravians. Salvation by Faith alone, and sudden justification, appear to be the distinguishing marks of the sect. Their doctrines open a wide door for the most dangerous enthusiasm; the poor people imagine, from the ardour of their feelings, that they are justified, though every Christian should be aware that he knows not whether he is worthy of love or hatred, and this has been productive of the most serious consequences. If only the thousandth part of all we hear of the scenes which take place at a "Revival" in America be true, it should fill us with compassion to see rational beings committing such extravagances in the holy name of Religion. I will not sully the page with a description of the "Penitents' pen," the groanings in spirit, the sighs, contortions, howlings, and faintings which accompany the "new birth" at these re-unions. It has been partially attempted in these countries to get up a similar demonstration, but we hope the sense of propriety and decorum is too strongly fixed in the minds of our people ever to permit themselves to be thus fooled.

7.—The curse of all heresies, the want of cohesion, has fallen also on the Methodist society. They are now divided into several branches, Primitive Wesleyans, &c. They are governed by Conferences, and there are districts, and other minor divisions, down to classes. The form of worship consists generally of extemporaneous prayer and preaching. Wesley established *bands*, or little companies for self-examination and confession, and it is rather strange that sectaries who reject Sacramental confession, where the penitent pours into the ear of the Priest his sins and his sorrows, under the most inviolable secrecy, should encourage promiscuous confession of sins, which can be productive of no good, but must necessarily cause a great deal of harm. Hear Wesley's own words on the subject: "*Bands*," he says, "are instituted, in order to confess our faults to one another, and pray for one another; we intend to meet once a week at least; to come punctually at the hour appointed; to begin with singing or prayer; to speak to each of us, in order, freely and plainly, the true state of our soul, with the *faults we have committed in thought*,

word, or deed, and the temptations we have felt since our last meeting, and to desire some person among us (thence called a leader) to speak his own state first, and then to ask the rest, in order, as *many* and as *searching questions* as may be, concerning their state, sins, and temptations." Such a shocking practice is only calculated to make men hypocrites and liars, for we know it is not in human nature to confess *freely* and *plainly* all the turpitude of their hearts, before five or six, or more, fellow-mortals; and did such a thing happen, society would be shaken to its foundations, the peace of families destroyed, and mortal hatred usurp the place of brotherly love. The Methodists have another peculiar custom—of holding a *love feast,* every quarter. Cake and water is given to each person, and partaken of by all, and each is at liberty to speak of his *religious experience.* There certainly could not be a better nurse of spiritual pride than a practice of this sort. Every year they have a *watch-night,* that is, they continue in prayer and psalm-singing, till after midnight, on the last night of the year; the new year is then ushered in with a suitable hymn and appropriate service. It is melancholy to see so many people, of really religious dispositions, most of them irreproachably moral, honest, and honourable, led astray by error, buffeted about by every wind of doctrine. Those who are members of the Holy Catholic Church, are bound to praise God daily for the inestimable blessing conferred on them; and, seeing how little in general they correspond to the extraordinary graces they receive by the Sacraments, and the Holy Sacrifice, should be humbled at their own unworthiness, and unceasingly pray to God, that the strayed sheep may be brought into the fold, under the guidance of the one Shepherd. Had Wesley, their founder, been born and disciplined, from his youth, in the doctrines and practices of the Catholic Faith—his self-love and spiritual pride corrected by the holy practice of the confessional—he might have been one of the lights of his age, and, perhaps, have carried the Gospel with effect to the nations still sitting in darkness. But the judgments of God are inscrutable (4).

8.—Johanna Southcott. This extraordinary woman was born

(4) Wesley's Journal; Centenary Report, and Benson's Apology, &c.

in Devonshire, in 1750, and is no less remarkable for the extravagance of her tenets, than as a melancholy example of the credulity of her numerous followers. She was, in the early part of her life, only a domestic servant, and scarcely received any education. She joined a Methodist society, and being of an excitable temperament, persuaded herself at first, it is supposed, that she was endowed with extraordinary gifts. She soon found followers, and then commenced as a prophetess, and proclaimed herself the "woman" spoken of in the Book of Revelations. She resided all this time in Exeter, and it is wonderful to find that an ignorant woman could make so many dupes. She had seals manufactured, and sold them as passes to immortal happiness. It was impossible that any one possessed of one of these talismen, could be lost. Exeter soon became too confined a sphere for her operations, and, at the expense of an engraver of the name of Sharp, she came to London, where the number of her disciples was considerably increased, and many persons joined her, whom we would be the last to suspect of fanaticism. She frequently denounced unbelievers, and threatened the unfaithful nations with chastisement. She was now sixty years of age, and put the finishing stroke to her delusions. She proclaimed that she was with-child of the Holy Spirit, and that she was about to bring into the world the Shiloh promised to Jacob. This event was to take place on the 19th of October, 1814. This we would imagine would be enough to shake the whole fabric of imposture she had raised, but, on the contrary, her dupes not only believed it, but actually prepared a gorgeous cradle for the Shiloh, and crowded round her residence at the appointed time, in expectation of the joyful event. Midnight passed, and they were told she fell into a trance. She died on the 27th of the following December, declaring that if she was deceived, it must be by some spirit, good or bad, and was buried in Paddington churchyard. A *post mortem* examination showed that she died of dropsy. Among other reveries, she taught the doctrine of the Millennium. The strangest thing of all is that the delusion did not cease at her death; her followers still exist as a sect, though not numerous. They are distinguished by wearing brown coats and long beards, and by other peculiarities. It is supposed they expect the re-appearance of their prophetess.

9.—A new sect sprung up in the United States of America, only a few years since. They were called Mormons, or Latter-Day Saints. It is very generally believed along the sea-board of the States, that the buccaneers of the seventeenth century, and the loyalists in the late revolution, buried large sums of money, and that all traces of the place of concealment were lost by their death. Several idle persons have taken up the trade of exploring for this concealed treasure, and are known by the name of "Money Diggers," calculating, like the alchymists of old, on the avaricious credulity of their dupes. The prophet and founder of Mormonism, Joe Smith, followed this profession. Not he alone, but his whole family, were remarkable for a total absence of every quality which constitutes honest men. Smith was well aware, from his former profession, of the credulity of many of his countrymen; so he gave out that he had a revelation from above—that he was received up into the midst of a blaze of light, and saw two heavenly personages, who told him his sins were forgiven—that the world was all in error in religious matters—and that, in due season, the truth would be revealed, through him. It was next revealed to him, that the aborigines, the "red men," of America were a remnant of the tribes of Israel, whose colour was miraculously changed, as a punishment for their sins, and whose prophets deposited a book of Divine records, engraved on plates of gold, and buried in a stone chest, in a part of the State of New York. Smith searched for the treasure, and found it, but was not allowed to remove it, until he had learned the Egyptian language, in which it was written. In 1827, he was, at last, allowed to take possession of it, and published an *English version*, in 1830. His father and others were partners in the scheme. The rhapsody made a deep impression on the uncultivated minds of many—especially among the lower orders—in the States, and a congregation was formed, usually called Mormonites, from the Book of Mormon, as Smith called it, or, according to the name by which they designated themselves, "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints." The book, such as it is, is supposed to have been written by a person of the name of Spaulding, as a sort of novel, and offered to a publisher, who declined having anything to do with it, and it eventually fell into the hands of one Rigdon, a friend of

Smith; and, as it was written something in the style of the Old Testament, and purported to be an account of the adventures of a portion of the Tribe of Joseph, who sailed for America, under the guidance of a Prophet, called Nephi, and became the fathers of the Red Indians, they determined to pass it off as a new Revelation. It is evidently the production of a very ignorant person, whose whole knowledge of antiquity was acquired from the English Bible. The sect became so numerous in a little time, that a settlement was made in the State of Missouri; but the sturdy people of the West rose up against them, and banished them. They next settled down in Illinois, and founded a city, which they called Nauvoo, near the Mississipi. A temple on a magnificent scale was commenced, and a residence for the Prophet, who took especial care that his revelations should all turn to his own profit. He established two Orders of Priesthood—the Order of Melchizedec, consisting of High Priests and Elders, and the Order of Aaron, containing Bishops, Priests, and Deacons; but "my servant, Joseph Smith," was, of course, the autocrat of the whole system, and the others were but his tools. Not alone from the States, but even from the manufacturing districts of England, did multitudes flock to the land of promise. Disputes, however, arose. The Prophet, Joe Smith, was killed by a mob last year, at Carthage, in Illinois, and most of his fanatical followers are dispersed. Numbers have emigrated to California, and intend forming establishments in that country, and time alone will tell whether the delusion will have any duration. The temple remains unfinished, like the Tower of Babel, a standing monument of human folly.

10.—The German Catholic Church. Such was the designation adopted by a party raised up within the two last years in Germany; but the reader will perceive what little right it has to such a title, when, at the last meeting, held at Schneidemuhl, they not only rejected the Dogmas and Sacraments, which peculiarly distinguish the Catholic Church from the various Protestant sects, but openly renounced even the Apostles' Creed, denied the Divinity of Christ and of the Holy Spirit, and, in fact, their whole Creed now consists, we may say, of one article—to believe in the existence of God. The origin of this party was thus: In the Cathedral of Treves, it is piously believed, the seamless

garment worn by our Lord is preserved; it is usually called the Holy Robe of Treves. From time to time this is exhibited to the veneration of the people. The Bishop of Treves, Monseigneur Arnoldi, published to the Faithful of Germany and the world, that the robe would be exhibited for a few weeks. Hundreds of thousands responded to the pious invitation. From the snowy summits of the Swiss mountains, to the lowlands of Holland, the people came in multitudes, to venerate the sacred relic. Ronge, an unquiet immoral Priest, who had been previously suspended by his Bishop, imagined that it would be just the time to imitate Luther in his attack on Indulgences, and, accordingly, wrote a letter to the Prelate Arnoldi, which was published, not alone in the German papers, but in several other parts of Europe besides. He then declared that he renounced the Roman Catholic Church altogether, and established what he called the German Catholic Church. He was soon joined by another priest of the same stamp, Czerski; and numbers of the Rationalists of Germany having no fixed religious principles of any sort, ranked themselves under the banners of the new Apostles, not through any love for the new form of faith, but hoping to destroy Catholicity. We have seen, however, at their last Conference, that they have abolished Christianity itself, and the sect, as it is, is already nearly extinct.

END OF THE HISTORY.

REFUTATION OF HERESIES.

REFUTATION I.

THE HERESY OF SABELLIUS, WHO DENIED THE DISTINCTION OF PERSONS IN THE TRINITY.

The Catholic Church teaches that there are in God one Nature and three distinct Persons. Arius, of whose heresy we shall have to speak in the next chapter, admits the distinction of Persons in the Trinity, but said that the three Persons had three different Natures among themselves, or, as the latter Arians said, that the three Persons were of three distinct Natures. Sabellius, on the other hand, confessed, that in God there was but one Nature; but he denied the distinction of Persons, for God, he said, was distinguished with the name of the Father, or the Son, or the Holy Ghost, by denomination alone, to signify the different effects of the Divinity, but that in himself, as there is but one Nature, so there is but one Person. The Sabellian heresy was first taught by Praxeas, who was refuted by Tertullian in a special work. In the year 257, the same heresy was taken up by Sabellius (1), who gave it great extension, especially in Lybia, and he was followed by Paul of Samosata. These denied the distinction of the Persons, and, consequently, the Divinity of Jesus Christ, and, therefore, the Sabellians were called Patropassionists, as St. Augustin (2) tells us, for, as they admitted in

(1) Euseb. His. Eccles. (2) St. Augus. *trac.* 26, in Jo.

God only the Person of the Father alone, they should, consequently, admit that it was the Father who became incarnate, and suffered for the redemption of mankind. The Sabellian heresy, after being a long time defunct, was resuscitated by Socinus, whose arguments we shall also enumerate in this dissertation.

§ I.

THE REAL DISTINCTION OF THE THREE DIVINE PERSONS IS PROVED.

2.—In the first place, the plurality and the real distinction of the three Persons in the Divine Nature is proved from the words of Genesis: "Let us make man to our own image and likeness" (Gen. i, 26); and in chap. iii, v. 22, it is said: "Behold, Adam is become one of us;" and again, in chap. xi, ver. 7: "Come ye, therefore, let us go down, and there confound their tongues." Now these words, "let us do," "let us go down," "let us confound," show the plurarity of Persons, and can in no wise be understood of the plurality of Natures, for the Scripture itself declares that there is but one God, and if there were several Divine Natures, there would be several Gods; the words quoted, therefore, must mean the plurality of Persons. Theodoret (1), with Tertullian, makes a reflection on this, that God spoke in the plural number, "let us make," to denote the plurality of Persons, and then uses the singular, "to our image," not images, to signify the unity of the Divine Nature.

3.—To this the Socinians object:—First—That God spoke in the plural number, for the honour of his Person, as kings say "We" when they give any order. But we answer, by saying, that sovereigns speak thus, "*we* ordain," "*we* command," in their ordinances, for then they represent the whole republic, but never when they speak of their private and personal acts; they never say, for example, "*we* are going to sleep," or "*we* are going to walk," nor did God speak in the way of commanding, when he said, "Behold Adam is become as one of us." Secondly—They

(1) Theod. *qu.* 19, in Gen.

object, that God did not thus speak with the other Divine Persons, but with the Angels; but Tertullian, St. Basil, Theodoret, and St. Iræneus, laugh at this foolish objection (2), for the very words, "to our image and likeness," dispose of it, for man is not created to the image of the Angels, but of God himself. Thirdly—They object, that God spoke with himself then, as if exciting himself to create man, as a sculptor might say, "come, let us make a statue." St. Basil (3), opposing the Jews, disposes of this argument. "Do we ever see a smith," he says, "when sitting down among his tools, say to himself—Come, let us make a sword?" The Saint intends by this to prove, that, when God said, "let us make," he could not speak so to himself alone, but to the other Persons; for no one, speaking to himself, says, "let us make." It is clear, therefore, that he spoke with the other Divine Persons.

4.—It is proved, also, from the Psalms (ii, 7): "The Lord hath said to me, thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee." Here mention is made of the Father begetting the Son, and of the Son begotten; and in the same Psalm the promise is made: "I will give thee the Gentiles for thy inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for thy possession." Here a clear distinction is drawn between the Person of the Son and the Person of the Father, for we cannot say it is the same Person who begets and is begotten. And St. Paul declares that these words refer to Christ the Son of God: "So Christ also did not glorify himself, that he might be made a high priest, but he that said unto him: *Thou art my son; this day have I begotten thee*" (Heb. v, 5).

5.—It is also proved by the 109th Psalm: "The Lord said to my Lord, sit thou at my right hand;" and it was this very passage that our Saviour made use of to convince the Jews, and make them believe that he was the Son of God. "What think you of Christ, said he? Whose Son is he? They say to him: David's. He saith to them: How, then, doth David in spirit call him Lord, saying, &c. If David then call him Lord, how is he

(2) Tertull. l. contra Prax. *c.* 12; St. Basil, *t.* 1; Hom. 9 in Hexamer.; Theod. *qu.* 19, in Gen.; St. Iræn. *l.* 4, *n.* 37.

(3) St. Basil, loc. cit. *p.* 87.

his Son" (Mat. xxii, 42—45). Christ wished by this to prove that, although the Son of David, he was still his Lord, and God, likewise, as his Eternal Father, was Lord.

6.—The distinction of the Divine Persons was not expressed more clearly in the Old Law, lest the Jews, like the Egyptians, who adored a plurality of Gods, might imagine that in the three Divine Persons there were three Essential Gods. In the New Testament, however, through which the Gentiles were called to the Faith, the distinction of the three Persons in the Divine Essence is clearly laid down, as is proved, first, from St. John, i, 1: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." Now, by the expression, "the Word was with God," it is proved that the Word was distinct from the Father, for we cannot say of the same thing, that it is with itself and nigh itself at the same time. Neither can we say that the Word was distinct by Nature, for the text says, "the Word was God;" therefore, the distinction of Persons is clearly proved, as St. Athanasius and Tertullian agree (4). In the same chapter these words occur: "We saw his glory, the glory as it were of the only-begotten of the Father." Here no one can say, that the Son is begotten from himself; the Son, therefore, is really distinct from the Father.

7.—It is proved, also, from the command given to the Apostles: "Go, therefore, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost" (Matt. xxviii, 19). Hence the words, *in the name*, denote the unity of Nature, and signify that Baptism is one sole operation of all the three named Persons; and the distinct appellation afterwards given to each Person, clearly proves that they are distinct. And, again, if these three Persons were not God, but only creatures, it would be absurd to imagine that Christ, under the same name, would liken creatures to God.

8.—It is proved, also, by that text of St. John: "Philip, he that seeth me seeth the Father also.....I will ask the Father, and he shall give you another Paraclete" (John, xiv, 9, 16). By the words, "he that seeth me seeth the Father," he proves the unity of the Divine Nature; and by the other expression, "I will

(4) Tert. adv. Prax. c. 26; St. Ath. Orat. contr. Sab. Gregal.

Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, still, because the power of creating appertains equally to the three Persons, we say, God the Creator; so, because the power of spirating the Holy Ghost is equally in the Father and in the Son, therefore, we say that the principle is one, and that the spiration of the Holy Ghost is one. We now pass on to other proofs of the principal point, that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son.

8.—The procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son is proved, fourthly, by the following argument used by the Latins against the Greeks in the Council of Florence. If the Holy Ghost did not proceed from the Son also, there would be no distinction; the reason is, because, as we have already said, there is no real distinction in God between those things between which there is not a relative opposition of the producer and the produced. If the Holy Ghost did not proceed also from the Son, there would be no relative opposition between him and the Son, and, consequently, there would be no real distinction; one person would not be distinct from the other. To this convincing argument the Greeks replied that even in this case there would be a distinction, because the Son would proceed from the Father by the intellect, and the Holy Ghost by the will. But the Latins answered, justly, that this would not be enough to form a real distinction between the Son and the Holy Ghost, because, at the most, it would be only a virtual distinction such as that which exists in God between the understanding and the will, but the Catholic Faith teaches us that the three Divine Persons, though they are of the same Nature and Substance, are still really distinct among themselves. It is true that some of the Fathers, as St. Augustin and St. Anselm, have said that the Son and the Holy Ghost are also distinct, because they have a different mode of procession, one from the will and the other from the understanding; but when they speak thus they only mean the remote cause of this distinction, for they themselves have most clearly expressed, on the other hand, that the proximate and formal cause of the real distinction of the Son and the Holy Ghost is the relative opposition in the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son. Hear what St. Gregory of Nyssa (7) says: "The

(7) St. Greg. Nyss. *l.* ad Ablavium.

Spirit is distinguished from the Son, because it is by him he is." And St. Augustin himself, whom the Greeks consider as favouring their party (8), says: "Hoc solo numerum insinuant, quod ad invicem sunt." And St. John of Damascus (9) also says, that it is merely in the properties of Paternity, Filiation, and Procession, that we see the difference, according to the cause and the effect: "In solis autem proprietatibus, nimirum Paternitatis, Filiationis, et Processionis secundum causam, et causatum discrimen advertimus." The Eleventh Council of Toledo (*Cap.* I.) says: "In relatione Personarum numerus cernitur; hoc solo numerum insinuat, quod ad invicem sunt."

9.—Finally, it is proved by the tradition of all ages, as is manifest from the text of those Greek Fathers whom the Greeks themselves consider an authority, and of some Latin Fathers who wrote before the Greek schism. St. Epiphanius, in the Anchoratum, thus speaks: "Christ is believed from the Father, God of God, and the Spirit from Christ, or from both;" and in the Heresia he says: "But the Holy Ghost is from both, a Spirit from a Spirit." St. Cyril (10) writes: "The Son, according to Nature, is indeed from God (for he is begotten of God and of the Father), but the Spirit is properly his, and in him, and from him;" and again (11): "The Spirit is of the essence of the Father and the Son, who proceeds from the Father and the Son." St. Athanasius explains (12) the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son in equivalent expressions. "The Spirit," he says, "does not unite the Word with the Father, but the Spirit receives from the Word..... whatsoever the Spirit has he has from the Word." St. Basil (13), replying to a heretic, who asks him why the Holy Ghost is not called the Son of the Son, says, he is not called so, "not because he is not from God through the Son, but lest it might be imagined that the Trinity consists of an infinite multitude of Persons, if Sons would follow from Sons, as in mankind." Among the Latin Fathers, Tertullian (14) writes: "The Son is deduced from the Father, the Spirit from the Father by the Son." St. Hilary (15) says: "There is no necessity to speak of

(8) St. Augus. *trac.* 39, in Jo.
(9) Jo. Damasc. *l.* 1, de Fide, *c.* 11.
(10) St. Cyril. in Joelem, *c.* 2.
(11) Idem, *l.* 14, Thesaur.
(12) St. Athan. Orat. 3, cont. Arian. *n.* 24.
(13) St. Basil, *l.* 5, cont. Eunom.
(14) Tertul. *l.* cont. Praxeam, *c.* 4.
(15) St. Hilar. *l.* 2, de Trin.

Him who is to be confessed as coming from the Father and the Son." St. Ambrose says (16), that "the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son," and in another place (17), "the Holy Ghost, truly a Spirit, proceeding from the Father and the Son, not the Son himself."

10.—I omit the authorities of the other Fathers, both Greek and Latin, collected by the Theologian John, in his disputation with Mark of Ephesus, in the Council of Florence, where he clearly refuted all the cavils of that prelate. It is of more importance to cite the decisions of the General Councils, which have finally decided on this dogma, as the Council of Ephesus, the Council of Chalcedon, the Second and Third Councils of Constantinople, by approving the Synodical Epistle of St. Cyril of Alexandria, in which this doctrine of the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son is expressed in these terms: "The Spirit is called the Spirit of Truth, and Christ is the Truth, so that he proceeds from him as he does from the Father." In the Fourth Council of Lateran, celebrated in the year 1215, under Innocent III., both Greeks and Latins united in defining (*cap.* 153), "that the Father was from none, the Son from the Father alone, and the Holy Ghost equally from both, always without beginning and without end." In the Second Council of Lyons, held in 1274, under Gregory X., when the Greeks again became united with the Latins, it was again agreed on by both that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son: "With a faithful and devout confession we declare that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son, not as from two principles, but as from one principle—not by two spirations, but by one spiration.

11.—Finally, in the Council of Florence, held under Eugenius IV., in the year 1438, in which both Greeks and Latins were again united, it was decided unanimously, "that this truth of Faith should be believed and held by all Christians, and that all should then profess that the Holy Ghost eternally proceeds from the Father and the Son, as from one principle, and by one spiration; we also define, explaining the word "*filioque*" (and

(16) St. Ambrose, *l.* 1, de S. S. *c.* 11, *art.* 10.

(17) Idem. de Symb. ap. *c.* 30.

from the Son), that it has been lawfully and rationally introduced into the Creed, for the sake of declaring the truth, and because there was a necessity for doing so at the time." Now, all those Councils in which the Greeks joined with the Latins in defining the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son, supply an invincible argument to prove that the schismatics uphold a heresy, for otherwise we should admit that the whole united Church, both Latin and Greek, has defined an error in three General Councils.

12.—As to theological reasons, we have already given the two principal ones: the first is, that the Son has all that the Father has, with the exception of the Paternity alone, which is impossible, on account of the Filiation. "All things whatsoever the Father hath are mine" (John, xvi, 15); therefore, if the Father has the power of spirating the Holy Ghost, the same power belongs also to the Son, since there is no relative opposition between the Filiation and the active spiration. The second reason is, that if the Holy Ghost did not proceed from the Son, he would not be really distinct from the Son, for then there would be no relative opposition or real distinction between them, and, consequently, the mystery of the Trinity would be destroyed. The other arguments adduced by theologians can either be reduced to these, or are arguments *a congruentia*, and, therefore, we omit them.

§ II.

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

13.—They object, first, that the Scripture speaks of the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father alone, and not from the Son, but we have already answered this (*N.* 6), and we remind the reader that though the Scripture does not express it in formal, it does in equivalent terms, as has been already proved. But, besides, remember that the Greeks recognized, equally with the Latins, the authority of tradition, and that teaches that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son.

14.—They object, secondly, that in the First Council of Con-

stantinople, in which the Divinity of the Holy Ghost was defined, it was not defined that he proceeded from the Father and the Son, but from the Father alone; but to this we reply, that this Council did not declare it, because this was not the point that the Macedonians controverted. The Council, therefore, defined the procession from the Father alone, because the Macedonians and Eunomians denied the procession from the Father, and, consequently, the Divinity of the Holy Ghost. The Church does not draw up definitions of Faith until errors spring up, and, on that account we see, that in several General Councils afterwards, the Church defined the procession of the Holy Ghost as well from the Son as from the Father.

15.—They object, thirdly, that when, in the Council of Ephesus, the Priest Carisius publicly read a Symbol, composed by Nestorius, in which it was asserted that the Holy Ghost was not from the Son, nor that he had not his substance through the Son, that the Fathers did not reject the doctrine. We reply, First—that this can be easily explained, by supposing that Nestorius properly denied, in a Catholic sense, that the Holy Ghost was from the Son, in opposition to the Macedonians, who said that he was a creature of the Son, and had received existence from the Son, just like any other creature. Secondly—We should not forget that in the Council of Ephesus it was not of the procession of the Holy Ghost that they were treating at all, and, therefore, they left it undecided, as it is always the practice of Councils, as we have stated already, not to turn aside to decide on incidental questions, but merely to apply themselves to the condemnation of those errors alone on which they are then deciding.

16.—They object, fourthly, some passages of the Holy Fathers which appear to deny the procession from the Son. St. Dionisius (1) says, that the Father alone is the consubstantial fountain of the Divinity: "Solum Patrem esse Divinitatis fontem consubstantialem." St. Athanasius (2) says, that he is the cause of both Persons: "Solum Patrem esse causam duorum." St. Maximus says (3), that the Fathers never allowed the Son to be the cause, that is, the principle of the Holy Ghost: "Patres non

(1) St. Dionys. *l.* 1, de Divin. nom. *c.* 2.
(2) St. Athan. Quæs. de Nat Dei.
(3) St. Maxim. Ep. ad Marin.

concedere Filium esse causam, id est principium Spiritus Sancti." St. John of Damascus says (4), we believe the Holy Ghost to be from the Father, and we call him the Spirit of the Father: "Spiritum Sanctum et ex Patre esse statuimus, et Patris Spiritum appellamus." They also quote certain passages of Theodoret, and, finally, they adduce that fact which we read of in the life of Pope Leo III., who commanded that the word "*filioque*" (and from the Son), added by the Latins to the Symbol of Constantinople should be expunged, and that the Symbol, with that word omitted, should be engraved on a table of silver, for perpetual remembrance of the fact. We answer that the preceding authorities quoted from the Holy Fathers prove nothing for the Greeks. St. Dionisius calls the Father alone the fountain of the Divinity, because the Father alone is the first fountain, or the first principle, without a beginning, or without derivation from any other Person of the Trinity. To St. Dionisius we can add St. Gregory of Nazianzen (5), who says, "*Quidquid habet Pater, idem Filii est, excepta causa.*" But all that the Saint means to say is, that the Father is the first principle, and for this special reason he is called the cause of the Son and the Holy Ghost, and this reason of the first principle cannot be applied to the Son in this way, for he has his origin from the Father; but by this the Son is not excluded from being, together with the Father, the principle of the Holy Ghost, as St. Basil, St. John Chrysostom, and several others, with St. Athanasius (quoted in *N.* 9), attest. The same answer will apply to the quotation of St. Maximus, especially as the learned Petavius remarks (6), as the word principle, or "principium," among the Greeks means the first fountain, or first origin, which applies to the Father alone.

17.—We can reply to the argument adduced from the quotation from St. John of Damascus, by remarking that the Saint here speaks guardedly, to oppose the Macedonians, who taught that the Holy Ghost was a creature of the Son, as he uses the same caution in not allowing that the Blessed Virgin should be

(4) St. Damas. *l.* 1, de Fide Orth. *c.* 11.
(5) St. Greg. Nazian. Orat. 24, ad Episcop.
(6) Petavius. *l.* 7, de Trin. *c.* 17, *n.* 12.

called the Mother of Christ—*Christiparam Virginem Sanctum non dicimas*—to avoid the error of Nestorius, who called her the Mother of Christ, to argue that there were two persons in Christ. Cardinal Bessarion, however, in the Council of Florence (7), answered this objection most clearly. The Saint, he says, used the preposition *Ex* to denote the principle without a beginning, as is the Father alone. St. John of Damascus himself, however, teaches the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son, both in the place quoted, where he calls him the Spirit of the Son, as also in the subsequent part of the same chapter, in which he compares the Father to the sun, the Son to the rays, and the Holy Ghost to the light, thus showing that as the light or splendour proceeds from the sun and the rays, so the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son: "Quemadmodum videlicet ex sole est radius, et splendor; ipse enim (Pater), et radii, et splendoris fons est; per radium autem splendor nobis communicatur, atque ipse est, qui nos collustrat, et a nobis percipitur."

18.—To the objection from Theodoret we answer, that the authority of Theodoret on this point is of no weight, because here he is opposed to St. Cyril, or we may suppose also that he was opposing the Macedonians, who taught that the Holy Ghost was a creature of the Son. Finally, as to the fact related of Leo III., we answer, that the Holy Father did not disapprove of the Catholic dogma of the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son, since he agreed on this point with the Legates of the Gallican Church, and of Charlemagne, as we see by the acts of the Legation (*Vol.* II.); but he disapproved of the addition of the word *Filioque* to the Symbol, without absolute necessity, and without the authority of the whole Church, and this addition was afterwards made by subsequent General Councils, when it was found necessary to do so, on account of the Greeks, who so frequently relapsed, and it was thus confirmed by the authority of the universal Church.

19.—The last objection made by the Greeks is founded on these reasons: If the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father and the Son, he would proceed not from one, but from two prin-

(7) Bessar. Orat. pro Unit.

ciples, for he would be produced by two Persons. We have already answered this in proving the dogma (*N.* 6), but we will explain it more clearly. Although the Father and the Son are two Persons, really distinct, still they neither are, nor can be, called two principles of the Holy Ghost, but only one principle, for the power by which the Holy Ghost is produced is but one alone, and is the same in the Father as in the Son. Neither is the Father the principle of the Holy Ghost by Paternity, nor the Son by Filiation, so that they might be two principles; but the Father and the Son are the principle of the Holy Ghost by active spiration, which, as it is one alone, and is common to both, and undivided in the Father and the Son, therefore the Father and the Son cannot be called two principles, or two spirators, because they are but one spirator of the Holy Ghost, and although both Persons spirate, still the spiration is but one. All this has been expressly laid down in the Definition of the Council of Florence.

REFUTATION V.

REFUTATION OF THE HERESY OF PELAGIUS.

1.—It is not my intention here to refute all the errors of Pelagius concerning Original Sin and Free Will, but only those concerning Grace. In the historical part of the work (*Chap.* v, *art.* ii, *n.* 5), I have said that the principal heresy of Pelagius was, that he denied the necessity of Grace to avoid evil, or to do good, and I there mentioned the various subterfuges he had recourse to, to avoid the brand of heresy, at one time saying that Grace and Free Will itself was given us by God; again, that it is the law teaching us how to live; now, that it is the good example of Jesus Christ; now, that it is the pardon of sins; again, that it is an internal illustration, but on the part of the intellect alone, in knowing good and evil, though Julian, his disciple, admitted

Grace of the Will also; but neither Pelagius nor his followers ever admitted the necessity of Grace, and have even scarcely allowed that Grace was necessary to do what is right more easily, and they always denied that this Grace was gratuitous, but said it was given us according to our natural merits. We have, therefore, two points to establish: first, the *necessity*, and next, the *gratuity* of Grace.

§ I.

OF THE NECESSITY OF GRACE.

2.—It is first proved from that saying of Jesus Christ: "No man can come to me, except the Father who hath sent me draw him" (John, vi, 44). From these words alone it is clear that no one can perform any good action in order to eternal life without internal Grace. That is confirmed by another text: "I am the vine, you the branches: he that abideth in me, and I in him, the same beareth much fruit; for without me you can do nothing" (John, xv, 5). Therefore, Jesus Christ teaches that of ourselves we can do nothing available to salvation, and, therefore, Grace is absolutely necessary for every good work, for otherwise, as St. Augustin says, we can acquire no merit for eternal life: "Ne quisquam putaret parvum aliquem fructum posse a semetipso palmitem ferre, cum dixisset hic, *fert fructum multum*, non ait, sine me parum, potestis facere; sed, *nihil potestis facere:* sive ergo parum, sive multum, sive illo fieri non potest, sine quo nihil fieri potest." It is proved, secondly, from St. Paul (called by the Fathers the Preacher of Grace), who says, writing to the Philippians: "With fear and trembling work out your salvation, for it is God who worketh in you both to will and to accomplish according to his good-will" (Phil. ii, 12, 13). In the previous part of the same chapter he exhorts them to humility: "In humility let each esteem others better than themselves," as Christ, who, he says, "humbled himself, becoming obedient unto death;" and then he tells them that it is God who works all good in them. He confirms in that what St. Peter says: "God resisteth the proud, but to the humble he giveth grace" (I. Peter,

v, 5). In fine, St. Paul wishes to show us the necessity of Grace to desire or to put in practice every good action, and shows that for that we should be humble, otherwise we render ourselves unworthy of it. And lest the Pelagians may reply, that here the Apostle does not speak of the absolute necessity of Grace, but of the necessity of having it to do good more easily, which is all the necessity they would admit, see what he says in another text: "No man can say, the Lord Jesus, but by the Holy Ghost" (I. Cor. xii, 3). If, therefore, we cannot even mention the name of Jesus with profit to our souls, without the grace of the Holy Ghost, much less can we hope to work out our salvation without Grace.

3.—Secondly—St. Paul teaches us that the grace alone of the law given to us is not, as Pelagius said, sufficient, for actual Grace is absolutely necessary to observe the law effectually: "For if justice be by the law, then Christ died in vain" (Gal. ii, 21). By justice is understood the observance of the Commandments, as St. John tells us: "He that doth justice is just" (I. John, iii, 7). The meaning of the Apostle, therefore, is this: If man, by the aid of the law alone, could observe the law, then Jesus Christ died in vain; but such is not the case. We stand in need of Grace, which Christ procured for us by his death. Nay, so far is the law alone sufficient for the observance of the Commandments, that, as the Apostle says, the very law itself is the cause of our transgressing the law, because it is by sin that concupiscence enters into us: "But sin taking occasion by the Commandment, wrought in me all manner of concupiscence. For without the law sin was dead. And I lived some time without the law, but when the commandment came, sin revived" (Rom. vii, 8, 9). St. Augustin, explaining how it is that the knowledge of the law sooner renders us guilty than innocent, says that this happens (1), because such is the condition of our corrupt will, that, loving liberty, it is carried on with more vehemence to what is prohibited than to what is permitted. Grace is, therefore, that which causes us to love and to do what we know we ought to do, as the Second Council of Carthage declares: "Ut quod faciendum cognovimus, per Gratiam præstatur, etiam facere diri-

(1) St. Augus. *l.* de Spir. S. et litt.

gamus, atque valeamus." Who, without Grace, could fulfil the first and most important of all precepts, to love God? "Charity is from God" (I. John, iv, 7). "The charity of God is poured forth into our hearts by the Holy Ghost, who is given to us" (Rom. v, 5). Holy charity is a pure gift of God, and we cannot obtain it by our own strength. "Amor Dei, quo pervenitur ad Deum, non est nisi a Deo," as St. Augustin says (2). Without Grace how could we conquer temptations, especially grievous ones? Hear what David says: "Being pushed, I was overturned, that I might fall, but the Lord supported me" (Psalms, cxvii, 13). And Solomon says: "No one can be continent (that is, resist temptations to concupiscence), except God gave it" (Wisdom, viii, 21). Hence, the Apostle, speaking of the temptations which assault us, says: "But in all these things we overcome, because of him that hath loved us" (Rom. viii, 37). And again, "Thanks be to God, who always maketh us to triumph in Christ" (II. Cor. ii, 14). St. Paul, therefore, thanks God for the victory over temptations, acknowledging that he conquers them by the power of Grace. St. Augustin (3) says, that this gratitude would be in vain if the victory was not a gift of God: "Irrisoria est enim illa actio gratiarum, si ob hoc gratiæ aguntur Deo, quod non donavit ipse, nec fecit." All this proves how necessary Grace is to us, either to do good or avoid evil.

4.—Let us consider the theological reason for the necessity of Grace. The means should always be proportioned to the end. Now, our eternal salvation consists in enjoying God face to face, which is, without doubt, a supernatural end; therefore, the means which conduce to this end should be of a supernatural order, likewise. Now, every thing which conduces to salvation is a means of salvation; and, consequently, our natural strength is not sufficient to make us do anything, in order to eternal salvation, unless it is elevated by Grace, for nature cannot do what is beyond its strength, and an action of a supernatural order is so. Besides our weak natural powers, which are not able to accomplish supernatural acts, we have the corruption of our nature, occasioned by sin, which even is a stronger proof to us of the necessity of Grace.

(2) St. Augus. *l.* 4, con. Julian. *c.* 3. (3) St. Augus. loc. cit. ad Corinth.

§ II.

OF THE GRATUITY OF GRACE.

5.—The Apostle shows in several places that the Divine Grace is, in every thing, gratuitous, and comes from the mercy of God alone, independent of our natural merits. In one place he says: "For unto you it is given for Christ, not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for him" (Phil. i, 29). Therefore, as St. Augustin reflects (1), it is a gift of God, through the merits of Jesus Christ, not alone to suffer for love of him, but even to believe in him, and, if it is a gift of God, it cannot be given us through our merits. "Utrumque ostendit Dei donum, quia utrumque dixit esse donatum; nec ait, ut plenius, et perfectius credatis, sed ut credatis in eum." The Apostle writes similarly to the Corinthians, that "he had obtained mercy of the Lord, to be faithful" (I. Cor. vii, 25). It is not through any merit of ours, therefore, that we are faithful to the Mercy of God. "Non ait," says St. Augustin, in the same place already quoted, "quia fidelis eram; fideli ergo datur quidem, sed datum est etiam, ut esset fidelis."

6.—St. Paul next shows most clearly, that, whenever we receive light from God, or strength to act, it is not by our own merits, but a gratuitous gift from God. "For who distinguisheth thee," says the Apostle, "or what hast thou, that thou hast not received; and if thou hast received, why dost thou glory, as if thou hadst not received it" (I. Cor. iv, 7). If Grace was given according to our natural merits, derived solely from the strength of our free will, then there would be something to distinguish a man who works out his salvation from one who does not do so. St. Augustin even says, that if God would give us only free will—that is, a will, free and indifferent either to good or evil, according as we use it—in case the good will would come from ourselves, and not from God, then what came from ourselves would be better than what comes from God: "Nam si nobis

(1) St. Aug. *l.* 2, de Præd. S. S. *c.* 2.

libera quædam voluntas ex Deo, quæ adhuc potest esse vel bona, vel mala; bono vero voluntas ex nobis est, melius est id quod a nobis, quam quod ab illo est" (2). But it is not so; for the Apostle tells us, that whatever we have from God is all gratuitously given to us, and, therefore, we should not pride ourselves on it.

7.—Finally, the gratuity of Grace is strongly confirmed by St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans (xi, 5, 6): "Even so then at this present time also, there is a remnant saved according to the election of grace. (The Apostle means, by "the remnant," those few Jews who were faithful among the multitude of unbelievers.) And if by Grace, it is not now by works: otherwise Grace is no more Grace." Now, the Apostle could not express in stronger terms the Catholic truth, that Grace is a gratuitous gift of God, and depends not on the merits of our free will, but on the mere liberality of the Lord.

§ III.

THE NECESSITY AND THE GRATUITY OF GRACE IS PROVED BY TRADITION; CONFIRMED BY THE DECREES OF COUNCILS AND POPES.

8.—St. Cyprian (1) lays it down as a fundamental maxim in this matter, that we should not glorify ourselves, as we have nothing of ourselves: "In nullo gloriandum, quando nostrum nihil est." St. Ambrose says (2) just the same thing: "Ubique Domini virtus studiis cooperatur humanis, ut nemo possit ædificare sine Domino, nemo custodire sine Domino, nemo quicquam incipere sino Domino." And St. John Chrysostom expresses the same sentiments in several parts of his works, and in one passage, in particular, says (3): "Gratia Dei semper in beneficiis priores sibi partes vindicat." And again (4): "Quia in nostra voluntate totum post Gratiam Dei relictum est, ideo et peccantibus supplicia proposita sunt, et bene operantibus retributiones." He

(2) St. Aug. *l.* 2, de Pec. mer. *c.* 18.
(1) St. Cypri. *l.* 3, ad Quir. *c.* 4.
(2) St. Amb. *l.* 7, in Luc. *c.* 3.
(3) St. Chrysos. Hom. 13, in Jean.
(4) Idem, Hom. 22, in Gen.

is even clearer in another passage (5), saying, that *all* we have is not from ourselves, but merely a gift gratuitously given us: "Igitur quod accepisti, habes, neque hoc tantum, aut illud, sed quidquid habes; non enim merita tua hæc sunt, sed Dei Gratia; quamvis fidem adducas, quamvis dona, quamvis doctrinæ sermonem, quamvis virtutem, omnia tibi inde provenerunt. Quid igitur habes quæso, quod acceptum non habeas? Num ipse per te recte operatus es? Non sane, sed accepisti.....Propterea cohibearis oportet, non enim tuum ad munus est, sed largientis." St. Jerome (6) says, that God assists and sustains us in all our works, and that, without the assistance of God, we can do nothing: "Dominum gratia sua nos in singulis operibus juvare, atque substentare." And again (7): "Velle, et nolle nostrum est; ipsumque quod nostrum est, sine Dei miseratione nostrum non est." And in another place (8): "Velle, et currere meum est, sed ipsum meum, sine Dei semper auxilio non erit meum." I omit innumerable other quotations from the Fathers, which prove the same thing, and pass on to the Synodical Decrees.

9.—I will not here quote all the Decrees of particular Synods against Pelagius, but only those of some particular Councils, approved of by the Apostolic See, and received by the whole Church. Among these is the Synod of Carthage, of all Africa, approved of by St. Prosper (9), which says, that the Grace of God, through Jesus Christ, is not only necessary to know what is right, and to practise it, but that, without it, we can neither think, say, or do anything conducive to salvation: "Cum 214.—Sacerdotibus, quorum constitutionem contra inimicos gratiæ Dei totus Mundus amplexus est, veraci professione, quemadmodum ipsorum habet sermo, dicamus Gratiam Dei per Jesum Christum Dominum, non solum ad cognoscendam, verum ad faciendam justitiam, nos per actus singulos adjuvari; ita sine illa nihil veræ sanctæque pietatis habere, cogitare, dicere, agere valeamus."

10.—The Second Synod of Orange (*cap.* vii) teaches, that it is heretical to say that, by the power of nature, we can do anything for eternal life: "Si quis per naturæ vigorem bonum aliquod, quod ad salutem pertinet vitæ æternæ, cogitare, aut eligere posse

(5) St. Chrysos. Hom. in cap. 4, 1, ad Cor.
(6) St. Hieron. *l.* 3, con. Pelag.
(7) Idem, Ep. ad Demetri.
(8) Idem, Ep. ad Ctesiphon.
(9) St. Prosp. Resp. ad *c.* 8, Gallor.

confirmet, absque illuminatione, et inspiratione Spiritus Sancti hæretico falliter spiritu." And again it defines: "Si quis sicut augmentum, ita etiam initium Fidei, ipsumque credulitatis affectum, quo in eum credimus, qui judicat impium, et ad generationem sacri Baptismatis pervenimus, non per gratiæ donum, idest per inspirationem Spiritus Sancti corrigentem voluntatem nostram ab infidelitate ad Fidem, ab impietate ad pietatem, sed naturaliter nobis inesse dicit, Apostolicis documentis adversarius approbatur."

11.—Besides the Councils we have the authority of the Popes who approved of several particular Synods celebrated to oppose the Pelagian errors. Innocent I., in his Epistle to the Council of Milevis, approving the Faith they professed, in opposition to Pelagius and Celestius, says that the whole Scriptures prove the necessity of Grace: "Cum in omnibus Divinis paginis voluntati liberæ, non nisi adjutorium Dei legimus esse nectendum, eamque nihil posse Cælestibus præsidiis destitutam, quonam modo huic soli possibilitatem hanc, pertinaciter defendentes, sibimet, imo plurimis Pelagius Celestiusque persuadent." Besides, Pope Zosimus, in his Encyclical Letter to all the Bishops of the world, quoted by Celestine I., in his Epistle to the Bishops of Gaul, says much the same: "In omnibus causis, cogitationibus, motibus adjutor et protector orandus est. Superbum est enim ut quisquam sibi humana natura præsumat." In the end of the Epistle we have quoted of Celestine I., there are several chapters, taken from the definitions of other Popes, and from the Councils of Africa, concerning Grace, all proving the same thing. The fifth chapter says: "Quod omnia studia, et omnia opera; ac merita sanctorum ad Dei gloriam, landemque referenda sunt; quia non aliunde ei placet, nisi ex eo quod Ipse donaverit." And in the sixth chapter it says: "Quod ita Deus in cordibus hominum, atque in ipso libero operatur, arbitrio ut sancta cogitatio, pium consilium, omnisque motus bona voluntatio ex Deo sit, quia per illum aliquid boni possumus, sine quo nihil possumus."

12.—The Pelagians were formally condemned in the General Council of Ephesus, as Cardinal Orsi tells us (10). Nestorius received the Pelagian Bishops, who came to Constantinople, most

(10) C. Orsi; Ir. Ecc *t.* 13, *l.* 29, *n.* 52, cum St. Prosp *l.* con. Collat. *c.* 21.

graciously, for he agreed with Pelagius in this, that Grace is given to us by God, not gratuitously, but according to our merits. This erroneous doctrine was agreeable to Nestorius, as it favoured his system, that the Word had chosen the Person of Christ as the temple of his habitation, on account of his virtues, and therefore the Fathers of the Council of Ephesus, knowing the obstinacy of those Pelagian Bishops, condemned them as heretics. Finally, The Council of Trent (*Sess.* vi, *de Justif.*) defines the same doctrine in two Canons. The second Canon says: "Si quis dixerit Divinam gratiam ad hoc solum dari, ut facilius homo juste vivere, ac ad vitam æternam promoveri possit, quasi per liberum arbitrium sine gratia utrumque, sed ægre tamen et difficulter possit; anathema sit." And in the third Canon the Council says: "Si quis dixerit, sine prævenienta Spiritus Sanctus inspiratione, atque ejus adjutoris hominem credere, sperare, diligero, aut pœnitere posse sicut oportet, ut ei justificationis gratia confiratur; anathema sit."

§ IV.

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

13.—The Pelagians object, firstly, if you admit that Grace is absolutely necessary to perform any act conducive to salvation, you must confess that man has no liberty, and free will is destroyed altogether. We answer, with St. Augustin, that man, after the fall, is undoubtedly no longer free without Grace, either to begin or bring to perfection any act conducive to eternal life, but by the Grace of God he recovers this liberty, for the strength which he is in need of to do what is good is subministered to him by Grace, through the merits of Jesus Christ; this Grace restores his liberty to him, and gives him strength to work out his eternal salvation, without, however, compelling him to do so: "Peccato Adæ arbitrium liberum de hominum natura perisse, non dicimus, sed ad peccandum valere in homine subdito diabolo. Ad bene autem, pieque vivendum non valere, nisi ipsa voluntas hominis Dei gratia fuerit liberata, et ad omne bonum actionis,

sermonis, cogitationis adjuta." Such are St. Augustin's sentiments (1).

14.—They object, secondly, that God said to Cyrus: "Who say to Cyrus, thou art my shepherd, and thou shalt perform all my pleasure" (Isaias, xliv, 28); and, in *chap.* xlvi, *v.* 11, he calls him, "a man of his will." Now, say the Pelagians, Cyrus was an idolater, and, therefore, deprived of the Grace which is given by Jesus Christ, and still, according to the text of the Prophet, he observed all the natural precepts; therefore without Grace a man may observe all the precepts of the law of nature. We answer, that in order to understand this, we should distinguish, with theologians, between the will of *Beneplacitum* and the will called of *Signum*. The *Beneplacitum* is that established by God by an absolute decree, and which God wills should be infallibly followed by us. This is always fulfilled by the wicked. But the other will (voluntas signi), is that which regards the Divine commandments signified to us, but for the fulfilment of this Divine will our co-operation is required, and this we cannot apply of ourselves, but require the assistance of the Divine Grace to do so; this will the wicked do not always fulfil. Now the Lord in Isaias does not speak of this will (*Signum*), in respect of Cyrus, but of the other will (*Beneplacitum*), that is, that Cyrus should free the Jews from captivity, and permit them to rebuild the city and temple; that was all that was required then from him, but, on the other hand, he was an idolater, and a sanguinary invader of the neighbouring kingdoms, and, therefore, he did not fulfil the precepts of the natural law.

15.—They object, thirdly, that fact related by St. Mark, of the man who was exhorted by our Redeemer to observe the commandments, and he answered: "Master, all these things I have observed from my youth," and the Evangelist proves that he spoke the truth, for "Jesus, looking on him, loved him" (Mark, x, 20, 21). See here, say the Pelagians, is a man who, without Grace, and who had not even as yet believed in Christ, observed all the natural precepts. We answer, first, this man was a Jew, and, as such, believed in God, and also implicitly in Christ, and there was, therefore, nothing to prevent him from

(1) St. Augus. *l.* 2, con. 2, Epis. Pelag. *c.* 5.

having Grace to observe the commandments of the Decalogue. Secondly—We answer, that when he said, "All these things I have observed from my youth," we are not to understand that he observed all the Commandments, but only those which Christ mentioned to him: "Do not commit adultery, do not kill, do not steal," &c. Even the Gospel itself proves that he was not ardent in the observance of the precept to love God above all things, for when Christ told him to leave his wealth and follow him, he refused to obey, and, therefore, our Lord tacitly reproved him, when he said: "How hardly shall they who have riches enter into the kingdom of God" (*ver.* 23).

16.—They object, fourthly, that St. Paul, while still under the law, and not having yet received Grace, observed all the law, as he himself attests: "According to the justice that is in the law, conversing without blame" (Phil. iii, 6). We answer, that the Apostle, at that time, observed the law externally, but not internally, by loving God above all things, as he himself says: "For we ourselves, also, were some time unwise, incredulous, erring, slaves to divers desires and pleasures, living in malice and envy, hating one another" (Tit. iii, 3).

17.—They object, fifthly, all the precepts of the Decalogue are either possible or impossible; if they are possible, we can observe them by the strength of our free will alone, but if they are impossible, no one is bound to observe them, for no one is obliged to do impossibilities. We answer, that all these precepts are impossible to us without Grace, but are quite possible with the assistance of Grace. This is the answer of St. Thomas (2): "Illud quod possumus cum auxili Divino, non est nobis omnino impossibile.....Unde Hieronymus confitetur, sic nostrum esse liberum arbitrium, ut dicamus nos semper indigere Dei auxilio." Therefore, as the observance of the Commandments is quite possible to us with the assistance of the Divine Grace, we are bound to observe them. We will answer the other objections of the Pelagians in the next chapter, the Refutation of the Semi-Pelagian heresy.

(2) St. Thom. 1, 2, 9, 109, *a.* 4, *ad.* 2.

REFUTATION VI.

OF THE SEMIPELAGIAN HERESY.

1.—The Semipelagians admit that the strength of the will of man has been weakened by Original Sin, and, therefore, allow that Grace is requisite to do what is right; but they deny that it is necessary for the beginning of Faith, or for the desire of eternal salvation; for they say that as the belief of sick people in the utility of medicine, and the wish to recover their health, are not works for which medicine is necessary, so the commencement of belief—or call it an affection for the Faith—and the desire of eternal salvation, are not works for which Grace is necessary. But we are bound to believe with the Catholic Church, that every beginning of Faith, and every good desire we entertain, is a working of Grace in us.

§ I.

THE COMMENCEMENT OF FAITH AND EVERY GOOD DESIRE IS NOT FROM OURSELVES, BUT FROM GOD.

2.—First, that is clearly proved from St. Paul: "Not that we are sufficient to think anything of ourselves, as of ourselves; but our sufficiency is from God" (II. Cor. iii, 5). Thus the beginning of believing—that is, not that beginning of Faith arising from the intellect, which naturally sees the truth of the Faith, but that pious desire of Faith, which is not yet formal faith, for it is no more than a thought, of wishing to believe, and which, as St. Augustin says, precedes belief—this good thought, according to St. Paul, comes from God alone. Such is the explanation St. Augustin gives of the text: "Attendant hic, et verba ista perpendant, qui putant ex nobis esse Fidei cœptum, et ex Deo esse Fidei supplementum. Quis enim non videt, prius esse cogitare

quam credere? Nullus quippe credit aliquid, nisi prius crediderit esse credendum. Quamvis enim rapte, quamvis celerrime credendi voluntatem quædam cogitationes antevolent, moxque illa ita sequatur, ut quasi conjunctissima comitetur; necesse est tamen, ut omnia quæ credentur, præveniente cogitatione credantur..... Quod ergo pertinet ad religionem et pietatem (de qua loquebatur Apostolus), si non sumus idonei cogitare aliquid quasi ex nobismetipsis, sed sufficientia nostra ex Deo est; profecto non sumus idonei credere aliquid quasi ex nobismetipsis, quod sine cogitatione non possumus, sed sufficientia nostra, qua credere incipiamus, ex Deo est" (1).

3.—It is proved, secondly, by another text of St. Paul, in which he shows the reason of our proposition. He says: "For who distinguisheth thee? or what hast thou that thou hast not received" (I. Cor. iv, 7). If the beginning of that good will, which disposes us to receive the Faith from God, or any other gift of Grace, came from ourselves, that would *distinguish* us from others who had not this commencement of a wish for eternal life. But St. Paul says, that all that we have, in which is comprised every first desire of Faith or salvation, is received from God: "What hast thou that thou hast not received?" St. Augustin was of opinion, for a time, that Faith in God was not from God, but from ourselves, and that by that we obtain afterwards from God the Grace to lead a good life; but this text of the Apostle chiefly induced him to retract this sentiment afterwards, as he himself confesses (2): "Quo præcipue testimonio etiam ipse convictus sum, cum similiter errarem: putans Fidem, qua in Deum credimus, non esse donum Dei, sed a nobis esse in nobis, et per illam nos impetrare Dei dona, quibus temperanter et juste, et pie vivamus in hoc sæculo."

4.—That is confirmed by what the Apostle says in another place: "For by Grace you are saved, through faith, and that not of yourselves, for it is the gift of God. Not of works that no man may glory" (Ephes. ii, 8, 9). St. Augustin (3) says that Pelagius himself, to escape condemnation from the Synod of Palestine, condemned (though only apparently) the proposition, that "Grace is given to us according to our merits." Hence,

(1) St. Aug. *l.* de Praed. S. S. *c.* 2.
(2) Ibid, *c.* 3.
(3) St. Aug. ibid, *c.* 1.

the Saint says: "Quis, autem, dicat eum, qui jam cœpit credere, ab illo inquam credidit, nihil mereri? Unde sit, ut jam merenti cetera dicantur addi retributione Divina: ac per hoc gratiam Dei secundum merita nostra dari: quod objectum sibi Pelagius, ne damnaretur, ipse damnavit."

5.—Our proposition is proved, thirdly, from the words of the Incarnate Wisdom himself: "No man can come to me, except the Father, who hath sent me, draw him" (John, vi, 44). And in another place he says: "Without me you can do nothing" (John, xv, 5). From this it is manifest that we cannot, with our own strength, even dispose ourselves to receive from God the actual graces which conduce to life everlasting, for actual grace is of a supernatural order, and, therefore, a disposition morally natural cannot dispose us to receive a supernatural grace. "If by grace it is not now by works," says St. Paul, "otherwise grace is no more grace" (Rom. xi, 6). It is certain, therefore, that Grace is given to us by God, not according to our natural merits, but according to his Divine liberality. God who makes perfect in us every good work, He also commenced it: "He who began a good work in you will perfect it unto the day of Christ Jesus" (Phil. i, 6). And in another place the Apostle says that every good wish has its beginning from God, and is brought to a conclusion by Him: "For it is God who worketh in you, both to will and to accomplish, according to his good will" (Phil. ii, 13). And here we are called on to advert to another error of the Semipelagians, who asserted that Grace was necessary to do what was good, but not necessary for perseverance in goodness. But this error was condemned by the Council of Trent (*Sess.* vi, *cap.* 13), which teaches that the gift of perseverance can only be obtained from God, who alone gives it: "Similiter de perseverantiæ munere.....quod quidem aliunde haberi non potest nisi ab eo, qui potens est eum qui stat statuere, ut perseveranter stet."

§ II.

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

6.—The Semipelagians object, first, some passages of the Scripture, from which it would appear that a good will and the beginning of good works are attributed to us, and the perfection of them only to God. In the first book of Kings (vii, 3), we read: "Prepare your hearts for the Lord;" and in St. Luke (iii, 4): "Prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight his paths." We also see in Zacchary: "Be converted to me..... and I will be converted to you;" and St. Paul speaks even plainer to the Romans (vii, 18), for he says: "For to will is present with me; but to accomplish that which is good I find not." It would appear also, from the Acts of the Apostles (xvii, 7), that the Faith which Cornelius received was to be attributed to his prayers. To these and to similar texts we answer, that the prevening *(preveniens)* internal Grace of the Holy Ghost is not excluded by them, but they suppose it, and we are exhorted to correspond to this Grace, to remove the impediments to the greater graces, which God has prepared for those who correspond to him. Thus when the Scripture says, "Prepare your hearts," "Be converted to me," &c., it does not attribute to our free will the beginning of Faith or of conversion, without preventing or prevening Grace *(gratia preveniens)*, but admonishes us to correspond to it, and teaches us that this preventing Grace leaves us at liberty either to choose or reject what is good for us. Thus, on the other hand, when the Scripture says, "The will is prepared by the Lord," and when we say, "Convert us, O God our Saviour" (Psalms, lxxxiv, 5), we are admonished that Grace prepares us to do what is good, but does not deprive us of liberty, if we refuse to do so. This is precisely what the Council of Trent says: "Cum dicitur: *Convertimini ad me, et ego convertar advos,* libertatis nostræ admonemur. Cum respondemus: *Converte nos Domine, et convertemur,* Dei nos gratia præveniri confitemur." The same answer applies to that text of St. Paul:

"For to will is present with me, but to accomplish that which is good I find not" (Romans, vii, 18). The meaning of the Apostle is this, that he, being then justified, had the Grace to desire what was good, but to perfect it was not his work, but the work of God; but he does not say that he had from himself the desire of doing good. The same answer applies to what is said of Cornelius, because, although he obtained his conversion to the Faith by his prayers, still these prayers were accompanied by preventing grace.

7.—They object, secondly, what Christ says in St. Mark (xvi, 16): "He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved." Here they say one thing is required, that is Faith; another is promised, salvation. Therefore, what is required is in the power of man; what is promised is in the power of God. We answer, with St. Augustin (1). "St. Paul," says the Holy Doctor, "writes: 'If by the Spirit you mortify the deeds of the flesh, you are saved.'" (Rom. viii, 13). Here one thing is required, the mortification of the flesh; another thing is promised, that is, eternal life. Now, if the argument of the Semipelagians was worth anything, that what is required is in our power, without the assistance of Grace, it would follow, that without Grace we have it in our power to conquer our passions; but this, the Saint says, "is the damnable error of the Pelagians." He then gives a direct answer to the Semipelagians, and tells them that it is not in our power to give what is required of us, without Grace, but with Grace it is, and he then concludes: Sicut ergo, quamvis donum Dei sit facta carnis mortificare, exigitur tamen a nobis proposito præmio vitæ; ita donum Dei est Fides, quamvis et ipsa, dum dicitur, *si credideris, salvus eris*, proposito præmio salutis exigatur a nobis. Ideo enim hæc et nobis præcipiuntur, et dona Dei esse monstrantur, ut intelligatur, quod et nos ea faciamus, et Deus facit ut illa faciamus."

8.—They object, thirdly, that God, in a thousand passages in the Scriptures, exhorts us to pray and seek, if we wish to receive Grace; therefore, they say it is in our power to pray at all events, and if the working out of our salvation and faith is not in our own hands, still the desire of believing and being saved is

(1) St. Aug. *l.* de Dono. persev. *c.* 23.

in our power. St. Augustin (2) also answers this argument. It is not the fact, he says, that prayer (such as it ought to be) is in our own unaided power. The gift of prayer comes from Grace, as the Apostle says: "Likewise, the Spirit also helpeth our infirmity. For we know not what we should pray for as we ought, but the Spirit himself asketh for us" (Rom. viii, 26). Hence, St. Augustin says (3): "Quid est, ipse Spiritus interpellat, nisi interpellare facit;" and he adds: "Attendant quomodo falluntur, qui putant esse a nobis, non dari nobis, ut petamus, quæramus, pulsemus, et hoc esse dicunt, quod gratia præceditur merito nostro.....Nec volunt intelligere, etiam hoc Divini muneris esse, ut oremus, hoc est petamus, quæramus, atque pulsemus; accepimus enim Spiritum adoptionis, in quo clamamus Abba Pater." The same Holy Doctor teaches us that God gives to all the Grace to pray, and through prayer the means of obtaining Grace to fulfil the Commandments; for otherwise, if one had not the efficacious Grace to fulfil the Commandments, and had not the Grace to obtain this efficacious Grace, through means of prayer either, he would be bound to observe a law which to him was impossible. But such, St. Augustin says, is not the case. Our Lord admonishes us to pray with the Grace of prayer, which he gives to all, so that by praying we may obtain efficacious Grace to observe the Commandments. He says: "Eo ipso quo firmissime creditur, Deum impossibilia non præcipere, hinc admonemur et in facilibus (that is in prayer) quid agamus, et in difficilibus (that is observing the Commandments) quid petamus." This is what the Council of Trent afterwards decreed on the same subject (*Sess.* vi, *c.* xi), following the remarkable expressions of the great Doctor: "Deus impossibilia non jubet, sed jubendo monet, et facere quod possis, et petere quod non possis, et adjuvat ut possis" (4). Thus by prayer we obtain strength to do what we cannot do of ourselves; but we cannot even boast of praying, for our very prayer is a gift from God.

9.—That God gives generally to all the Grace of praying, St. Augustin (independently of the passages already quoted) teaches in almost every page of his works. In one place he

(2) St. Aug. de Nat. & Gratia. c. 44.

(3) St. Aug. Ibid

(4) Ibid.

says: "Nulli enim homini ablatum est scire utilitur quærere" (5). And again: "Quid ergo aliud ostenditur nobis, nisi quia et petere et quærere. Ille concedit, qui ut hæc faciamus, jubet" (6). In another place, speaking of those who do not know what to do to obtain salvation, he says they should make use of what they have received, that is, of the Grace of prayer, and that thus they will obtain salvation (7): "Sed hoc quoque accipiet, si hoc quod accipit bene usus fuerit; accepit autem, ut pie et diligenter quærat, si volet." Besides, in another passage (8), he explains all this more diffusely, for he says it is for this reason that God commands us to pray, that by prayer we may obtain his gifts, and that he would invite us in vain to pray, unless he first gave us Grace to be able to pray, and by prayer to obtain Grace to fulfil what we are commanded: "Precepto admonitum est liberum arbitrium, ut quæreret Dei donum; at quidem sine suo fructu admoneretur, nisi prius acciperet aliquid dilectionis, ut addi sibi quæreret, unde quod jubebatur, impleret." Mark how the words, "aliquid dilectionis," that is, the grace by which man prays, if he wishes, and by prayer obtains the actual Grace to observe the Commandments. And thus, on the day of judgment, no one can complain that he is lost for want of Grace to co-operate to his salvation, because if he had not actual Grace to work out his salvation, at all events he had Grace to pray, which is denied to no one, and if he prayed, he would obtain salvation according to the promises of our Lord: "Ask, and it shall be given unto you; seek, and you shall find" (Matt. vii, 7).

10.—They object, fourthly, and say: If even for the beginning of Faith preventing Grace is necessary, then the infidels, who do not believe, are excusable, because the Gospel was never preached to them, and they, therefore, never refused to hear it. Jansenius (9) says that these are not excused, but are condemned, without having had any sufficient Grace, either proximate or remote, to become converted to the Faith, and that is, he says, in punishment of Original Sin, which has deprived them of all help. And those theologians, he says, who in general teach that

(5) St. Aug. *l.* 3, de Lib. Arb. *c.* 19, *n.* 53.
(6) Idem, *l.* 1, ad Simp. *q.* 2.
(7) Idem, Trac. 26, in Joan. *c.* 22, *n.* 65.
(8) St. Aug. de Grat. & Lib. Arb. *c.* 18.
(9) Jansen. *l.* 3, de Grat. Christ. *c.* 11.

these infidels have sufficient Grace for salvation, some way or other have adopted this opinion from the Semipelagians. This sentiment of Jansenius, however, is not in accordance with the Scripture, which says that God "will have all men to be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth" (I. Tim. ii, 4); "He was the true light, which enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world" (John, i, 9); "Who is the Saviour of all men, especially the faithful" (I. Tim. iv, 10); "And he is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for those of the whole world" (I. John, ii, 2); "Who gave himself a redemption for all" (I. Tim. ii, 6). From these texts Bellarmin (10) remarks that St. Chrysostom, St. Augustin, and St. Prosper, conclude that God never fails to give to all men sufficient assistance to work out their salvation, if they desire it. And St. Augustin (11), especially, and St. Prosper (12), express this doctrine in several parts of their works. Besides, this sentiment of Jansenius is in direct opposition to the condemnation pronounced by Alexander VIII., in 1690, on that proposition, that Pagans, Jews, &c., have no sufficient Grace: "Pagani, Judæi, Hæritici, aliique hujus generis nullum omnino accipiunt a Jesu Christo influxum: adeoque hinc recte inferes, in illis esse voluntatem nudam et inermem sine omni gratia sufficiente." Neither does it argue with the condemnation pronounced by Clement XI. on two Propositions of Quesnel (26, 29): "That there are no graces unless by Faith," and that "no Grace is granted outside the Church."

11.—Still we answer the Semipelagians, and say, that infidels who arrive at the use of reason, and are not converted to the Faith, cannot be excused, because though they do not receive sufficient proximate Grace, still they are not deprived of remote Grace, as a means of becoming converted. But what is this remote Grace? St. Thomas (13) explains it, when he says, that if any one was brought up in the wilds, or even among brute beasts, and if he followed the law of natural reason, to desire what is good, and to avoid what is wicked, we should certainly

(10) Bellar. *l.* 2, de Grat. & Lib. Arb. *c.* 3.
(11) St. Aug. *l.* de Spir. & lit. *c.* 33, & in Ps. 18, *n* 7.
(12) St. Pros. de Voc. Gent. *l.* 2, *c.* 5.
(13) St. Thom. Quæs. 14, de Verit. *art.* 11, *ad.* 1.

believe either that God, by an internal inspiration, would reveal to him what he should believe, or would send some one to preach the Faith to him, as he sent Peter to Cornelius. Thus, then, according to the Angelic Doctor, God, at least remotely, gives to the infidels, who have the use of reason, sufficient Grace to obtain salvation, and this Grace consists in a certain instruction of the mind, and in a movement of the will, to observe the natural law; and if the infidel co-operates with this movement, observing the precepts of the law of nature, and abstaining from grievous sins, he will certainly receive, through the merits of Jesus Christ, the Grace proximately sufficient to embrace the Faith, and save his soul.

REFUTATION VII.

REFUTATION OF THE HERESY OF NESTORIUS, WHO TAUGHT THAT IN CHRIST THERE ARE TWO PERSONS.

1.—Nestorius is not charged with any errors regarding the mystery of the Trinity. Among the other heresies which he combated in his Sermons, and to punish which he implored the Emperor Theodosius, was that of the Arians, who denied that the Word was consubstantial to the Father. We, therefore, have no reason to doubt that he acknowledged the Divinity of the Word, and his consubstantiality with the Father. His heresy particularly attacked the mystery of the Incarnation of the Divine Word, for he denied the hypostatic or Personal Union of the Word with the humanity. He maintained that the Word was only united with the humanity of Jesus Christ, just in the same way as with the Saints, only in a more perfect manner, and from the first moment of his conception. In his writings he explains this point over and over in different ways, but always only as a simple moral and accidental union between the Person of the Word and the humanity of Jesus Christ, but he never

admits a hypostatic or personal union. At one time he said it was an union of *habitation*, that is, that the Word inhabited the humanity of Christ, as his temple; next it was, he said, an union of *affection*, such as exists between two friends. He then said it was an union of *operation*, inasmuch as the Word availed himself of the humanity of Christ as an instrument to work miracles, and other supernatural operations. Then that it was an union of *Grace*, because the Word, by means of sanctifying Grace and other Divine gifts, is united with Christ. Finally, he teaches that this union consists in a moral communication, by which the Word communicates his dignity and excellence to the humanity, and on this account the humanity of Christ should, he said, be adored and honoured, as we honour the purple of the Sovereign, or the throne on which he sits. He always denied with the most determined obstinacy, that the Son of God was made man, was born, suffered, or died for the redemption of man. Finally, he denied the communication of the *Idioms*, which follows from the Incarnation of the Word, and, consequently, he denied that the Blessed Virgin was truly and properly the Mother of God, blasphemously teaching that she only conceived and brought forth a mere man.

2.—This heresy saps the very foundation of the Christian Religion, by denying the mystery of the Incarnation, and we will attack it on its two principal points, the first of which consists in denying the *hypostatic union*, that is, the union of the Person of the Word with human nature, and, consequently, admits that there are two Persons in Christ—the Person of the Word, which dwells in the humanity as in a temple, and the person of man, purely human, and which does not ascend to a higher degree than mere humanity. The second point consists in denying that the Blessed Virgin is truly and properly the Mother of God. These two points we will refute in the two following paragraphs.

§ I.

IN JESUS CHRIST THERE IS BUT THE ONE PERSON OF THE WORD ALONE, WHICH TERMINATES THE TWO NATURES, DIVINE AND HUMAN, WHICH BOTH SUBSIST IN THE SAME PERSON OF THE WORD, AND, THEREFORE, THIS ONE PERSON IS, AT THE SAME TIME, TRUE GOD AND TRUE MAN.

3.—Our first proof is taken from all those passages in the Scripture, in which it is said that God was made flesh, that God was born of a Virgin, that God emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, that God has redeemed us with his blood, that God died for us on the Cross. Every one knows that God could not be conceived, nor born, nor suffer, nor die, in his Divine Nature, which is eternal, impassible, and immortal; therefore, if the Scripture teaches us that God was born, and suffered, and died, we should understand it according to his human nature, which had a beginning, and was passible and mortal. And, therefore, if the Person in which the human nature subsists was not the Divine Word, St. Matthew would state what is false when he says that God was conceived and born of a Virgin: "Now all this was done that it might be fulfilled which the Lord spoke by the Prophet, saying: Behold a Virgin shall be with child and bring forth a Son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel, which being interpreted, is God with us" (Matt. i, 22, 23). St. John expressly says the same thing: "The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us, and we saw his glory, the glory as it were of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth" (John, i, 14. The Apostle also would have stated a falsehood in saying that God humbled himself, taking the form of a servant: "For let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus. Who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men and in habit found as a man" (Phil. ii, 5—7.) St. John would also state what is not the fact, when he says that God died for us: "In this we have known the charity of God, because he hath laid down his life for us" (I. John, iii, 6); and St. Paul says: "The Holy Ghost placed you Bishops to rule the Church of God, which he has purchased with

his own blood" (Acts, xx, 18); and speaking of the death of our Redeemer, he says: "For if they had known it, they never would have crucified the Lord of glory" (I. Cor. ii, 8.)

4.—Now it would be false to speak of God in that manner, if God only inhabited the humanity of Jesus Christ accidentally, as a temple, or morally, through affection, or was not united hypostatically or personally, just as it would be false to say that God was born of St. Elizabeth, when she brought forth the Baptist, in whom God inhabited before his birth, by sanctifying grace, and it would be false to say that God died stoned when St. Stephen was stoned to death, or that he died beheaded when St. Paul was beheaded, because he was united to these Saints through the medium of love, and of the many heavenly gifts he bestowed on them, so that between them and God there existed a true moral union. When, therefore, it is said that God was born and died, the reason is because the Person sustaining and terminating the assumed humanity is truly God, that is the eternal Word. There is, therefore, in Christ but one Person, in which two Natures subsist, and in the unity of the Person of the Word, which terminates the two natures, consists the hypostatic union.

5.—This truth is also proved, secondly, from those passages of the Scriptures in which Christ-Man is called God, the Son of God, the only begotten Son, the proper Son of God, for a man cannot be called God or Son of God, unless the person who terminates the human nature is truly God. Now Christ-Man is called the supreme God by St. Paul: "And of whom is Christ according to the flesh, who is over all things God blessed for ever" (Rom. xix, 5). We read in St. Matthew that Christ himself, after calling himself the Son of Man asked his disciples whom do they believe him to be, and St. Peter answers that he is the Son of the living God: "Jesus saith to them, but whom do you say that I am? Simon Peter answered and said: Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God. And Jesus answering, said to him: Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona, because flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee, but my Father who is in heaven" (Matt. xvi, 15—17). Then Jesus himself, at the very time that he calls himself man, approves of Peter's answer, who calls him the Son of God, and says that this answer was revealed to him by his eternal Father. Besides, we read in St.

Matthew (iii, 17), St. Luke (ix, 13), and St. Mark (i, 11), that Christ, while he was actually receiving Baptism as man from St. John, was called by God his beloved Son: "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." St. Peter tells us that in Mount Thabor the Eternal Father spoke the same words: "For, he received from God the Father, honour and glory; this voice coming down to him from the excellent glory: This is my beloved Son, in whom I have pleased myself, hear ye him" (II. Pet. i, 17). Christ, as man, is called the only begotten Son of the Eternal Father, by St. John: "The only begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him" (John, i, 18). As man alone, he is called God's own Son: "He spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all" (Rom. viii, 32). After so many proofs from the Holy Scriptures, who will be rash enough to deny that the man Christ is truly God?

6.—The Divinity of Jesus Christ is proved from all these passages of the Scriptures, in which that which can only be attributed to God is attributed to the Person of Christ-Man, and from thence we conclude that this Person, in which the two Natures subsist, is true God. Jesus, speaking of himself, says: "I and the Father are one" (John, x, 30); and in the same place he says: "The Father is in me, and I in the Father" (*ver.* 38). In another passage we read that St. Philip, one day speaking with Jesus Christ, said: "Lord, show us the Father," and our Lord answered: "So long a time have I been with thee, and have you not known me? Philip, he that seeth me seeth the Father also. Believe you not that I am in the Father and the Father in me?" (John, xiv, 8—11). By these words Christ showed he was the same God as the Father. Christ himself said to the Jews that he was eternal: "Amen, amen, I say unto you, before Abraham was I am" (John, vii, 58); and he says, also, that he works the same as the Father: "My Father worketh until now, and I work..... for what things soever he doth, these the Son also doth in like manner" (John, v, 17). He also says: "All things whatsoever the Father hath are mine" (John, xvi, 15). Now, if Christ was not true God all these sayings would be blasphemous, attributing to himself what belongs to God alone.

7.—The Divinity of Christ-Man is proved from those other passages of the Scriptures, in which it is said that the Word, or

the Son of God, became incarnate: "The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us" (John, i, 14); "For God so loved the world as to give his only begotten Son" (John, iii, 16); "He spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for all of us" (Rom. viii, 32). Now, if the Person of the Word was not hypostatically united—that is, in one Person with the humanity of Christ—it could not be said that the Word was incarnate, and was sent by the Father to redeem the world, because if this personal union did not exist between the Word and the humanity of Christ, there would be only a moral union of habitation, or affection, or Grace, or gifts, or operation, and in this sense we might say that the Father and the Holy Ghost became incarnate also, for all these sorts of unions are not peculiar to the Person of the Word alone, but to the Father and the Holy Ghost, likewise, for God is united in this manner with the Angels and Saints. God has frequently sent Angels as his ambassadors; but, as St. Paul says, our Lord has never taken the nature of angels: "For nowhere doth he take hold of the angels, but of the seed of Abraham he taketh hold" (Heb. ii, 16). Thus, if Nestorius means to assert that unions of this sort are sufficient to enable us to say that the Word was incarnate, we should also say that the Father was incarnate, for the Father, by his Graces and his heavenly gifts, was united with, and morally dwelt in, Jesus Christ, according to what our Lord himself says: "The Father is in me..... the Father remaining in me" (John, xiv, 10). We should also admit that the Holy Ghost became incarnate, for Isaias, speaking of the Messiah, says: "The Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the Spirit of wisdom and of understanding" (Isaias, xi, 2). And in St. Luke it is said, that "Jesus was full of the Holy Ghost" (Luke, iv, 1). In fine, according to this explanation, every Saint or holy person who loves God could be called the Incarnate Word, for our Saviour says: "If any one love me.....my Father will love him, and we will come to him, and will make our abode with him" (John, xiv, 23). Thus Nestorius should admit, either that the Word is not incarnate, or that the Father and the Holy Ghost are incarnate. This was the unanswerable argument of St. Cyril (1): "Quod unus sit Christus,

(1) St. Cyril, Dial. 9.

ejusmodi in habitatione Verbum non fieret caro, sed potius hominis incola; et conveniens fuerit illum non hominem, sed humanum vocare, quemadmodum et qui Nazareth inhabitavit, Nazarenus dictus est, non Nazareth. Quinimo nihil prorsus obstiterit..... hominem vocari una cum Filio etiam Patrem, et Spiritum Sanctum, habitavit enim in nobis."

8.—I might here add all those texts of Scripture in which Christ is spoken of as only one Person subsisting in two Natures, as in St. Paul: "One Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things," &c. (I. Cor. viii, 6), and several other texts of like import. If Nestorius insisted that there were two Persons in Christ, he makes out not *one*, but *two* Lords—one, the Person of the Word which dwells in Christ, and the other the human Person. I will not detain the reader, however, by quoting more Scriptural authorities, for every proof of the Incarnation upsets the whole structure of Nestorianism.

9.—We now come to Tradition, which has always taught the Faith of the unity of the Person of Jesus Christ in the Incarnation of the Word. In the Apostles' Creed, taught by the Apostles themselves, we say, we believe "in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord, who was conceived of the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary." Now, the same Jesus Christ who was conceived, born, and died, is the only Son of God, our Lord; but that would not be the case, if in Christ, as Nestorius taught, there was not only a Divine, but a human Person, because he who was born and died would not have been the only Son of God, but a mere man.

10.—This profession of Faith is laid down more amply in the Nicene Creed, in which the Fathers defined the Divinity of Jesus Christ, and his consubstantiality with the Father, and thus condemned the heresy of Nestorius, even before it sprung up: "We believe," say the Fathers, "in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the only begotten Son of the Father, that is, of the substance of the Father, God of God, light of light, true God of true God, born, not made, consubstantial to the Father, by whom all things were made, both those in heaven and those on the earth, who for us men, and for our salvation, descended and was incarnate, and was made man; he suffered and arose the third day," &c. Behold, therefore, how Jesus Christ alone, who

is called God, the only begotten of the Father, and consubstantial to the Father, is called man, who was born, died, and rose again. This same Symbol was approved of by the Second General Council, that is, the first of Constantinople, which was also held before Nestorius promulgated his blasphemies; and according to the same Symbol of Nice, he was condemned in the Third General Council, that of Ephesus, which was held against his errors. In the Symbol attributed to St. Athanasius, the dogma is thus established in opposition to Nestorianism: "Our Lord Jesus Christ is God and man.....equal to the Father, according to his Divinity; less than the Father, according to his humanity; who, although he is God and man, these are not two, but one Christ.....one altogether not by the confusion of substance, but by 'Unity of the Person.'"

11.—Besides those Symbols, we have the authority of the Holy Fathers who wrote before the rise of this heresy. St. Ignatius the Martyr (2) says: "Singuli communiter omnes ex gratia nominatim convenientes in una Fide, et uno Jesu Christo, secundum carnem ex genere Davidis, Filio hominis, et Filio Dei." See here how he mentions *one* Jesus Christ, the Son of man and the Son of God. St. Iræneus says (3): "Unum et eundem esse Verbum Dei, et hunc esse unigenitum, et hunc incarnatum pro salute nostra Jesum Christum." St. Dionisius of Alexandria, in a Synodical Epistle, refutes Paul of Samosata, who said that in Christ there were two Persons and two Sons; the one the Son of God, born before all ages; the other the Son of David, called Christ. St. Athanasius (4) says: "Homo una Persona, et unum animal est ex spiritu et carne compositum, ad cujus similitudinem intelligendum est, Christum unam esse Personam, et non duas"—that, as soul and body make but one person in man, so the Divine and human nature constitute but one Person in Christ. St. Gregory of Nazianzen (5) says: "Id quod non erat assumpsit, non quo factus, sed unum ex duobus fieri substinens; Deus enim ambo sunt id quod assumpsit, et quod est assumtum, naturæ duæ in unum concurrentes, non duo Filii." St. John Chrysostom (6) thus writes: "Etsi enim (*in Christo*) duplex natura; verumta-

(2) St. Ignat. Epis. ad Eph. *n.* 20.
(3) St. Iren. *l.* 3, *c.* 26, *al.* 18, *n.* 2.
(4) St. Athan *l.* de Inc Verb. *n.* 2.
(5) St. Greg. Naz. Orat. 31.
(6) St. Joan. Chry. Ep. ad Cæsar.

men indivisibilis unio in una filiationis Persona, et substantia." St. Ambrose (7) tersely explains: "Non alter ex Patre, alter ex Virgine, sed item aliter ex Patre, aliter ex Virgine." St. Jerom, opposing Elvidius, says, that "we believe that God was born of a virgin;" and in another place he says (8): "Anima et caro Christo cum Verbo Dei una Persona est, unus Christus."

12.—It would extend the work too much to quote more from the Holy Fathers, so I will pass on to the Decrees of Councils. The Council of Ephesus (9), after a mature examination of the Catholic dogma, by Scripture and Tradition, condemned Nestorius, and deposed him from the See of Constantinople. Here are the words of the Decree: "Dominus noster Jesu Christus quem suis ille blasphemis vocibus impetivit per Ss. hunc Synodum eundem Nestorium Episcopali dignitate privatum, et ab universo Sacerdotum consortio, et cœtu alienum esse definit." The Fourth General Council, that of Chalcedon, defined the same thing (*Act.* 5): "Sequentes igitur Ss. Patres, unum, eumdemque confiteri Filium, et Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum consonanter omnes docemus, eundem perfectum in Deitate, et eundem perfectum in humanitate, Deum verum, et hominem verum.....non in duas personas partitum, aut divisum, sed unum eundemque Filium, et unigenitum Deum Verbum, Dominum Jesum Christum." The Third Council of Constantinople—that is, the Sixth General Council—defined the same doctrine in the last *Action;* and the Seventh General Council, that is, the Second of Nice, did the same in the Seventh *Action.*

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

13.—They object, first, certain passages of the Scripture, in which the humanity of Christ is called the temple and habitation of God: "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up.....But he spoke of the temple of his body" (John, ii, 19—21). In another place it is said: "For in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead corporeally" (Col. ii, 9). We answer, that in

(7) St. Amb. de Incar. *c.* 5.
(8) St. Hieron. *trac.* 49, in Joan.
(9) Concil. Ephes. *t.* 3; Con. *p.* 115, & seq.

these texts the personal union of the Word with the human nature is not denied, but is even more strongly confirmed. Why should we be surprised that the body of Christ, hypostatically united with his soul to the Divine Word, should be called a temple? Why, even our body united to the soul is called a house and tabernacle: "For we know if our earthly house of this habitation be dissolved" (II. Cor. v, 1). And again (*ver.* 4): "For we also who are in this tabernacle do groan, being burthened." As, therefore, it is no argument against the personal union of the body and soul, to call the body a house and tabernacle, so calling the body of Christ a temple does not prove anything against the hypostatic union of the Word with the humanity of Christ; on the contrary, our Saviour even expresses this union himself in the words which follow: "In three days I will raise it up;" for by that he shows that he was not only man, but God. The Divinity of Christ is also clearly proved by the other text, in which St. Paul says that the followers of the Divinity dwelt bodily in him, thus declaring him to be at the same time true God and true man, according to the words of St. John: "The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us."

14.—They object, secondly, that text of the Epistle: "Being made in the likeness of man, and in habit formed as a man" (Phil. ii, 7). According to that, they say that Christ was a man like unto all other men. We answer that in the previous part of the text the Apostle already answers this, for he shows that Christ was God and equal to God: "Who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God." Therefore the words quoted only prove that the Divine Word being God was made man like unto other men, but that he was not a mere man like all other men.

15.—They object, thirdly, that every thing in nature ought to have its own peculiar *subsistentia*, but the subsistentia of human nature is a human person, therefore if in Christ there was not a human person he was not true man. We reply that this is not necessary, if there be a higher or more noble *subsistentia*, as was the case in Christ, where the Word sustained both Natures, and, therefore, though in Christ there was only the Divine Person of the Word, still he was true man, because the human nature subsisted in the Word itself.

16.—They object, fourthly, if the humanity of Christ consisted of both soul and body, it was complete and perfect; there was, therefore, in him a human person, besides the Divine Person. We answer, that the humanity of Christ was complete by reason of nature, for it wanted nothing, but not by reason of the Person, because the Person in which the Nature subsisted and was comprised was not a human but a Divine Person, and, therefore, we cannot say that there were two Persons in Christ, for one Person alone, that of the Word, sustains and comprises both the Divine and human Nature.

17.—They object, fifthly, that St. Gregory of Nyssa and St. Athanasius have sometimes called the humanity of Christ the house, the domicile, and the temple of God the Word. Besides that, St. Athanasius, Eusebius of Cesarea, and St. Cyril himself, have spoken of it as the instrument of the Divinity. St. Basil calls Christ "Deiferous," the bearer of God. St. Epiphanius and St. Augustin, "Hominem Dominicum," and St. Ambrose and St. Augustin, in the "Te Deum," say that the Word assumed man. We answer, that the Fathers, as we have already seen, have clearly expressed that Christ is true God and true man, so that if there be any obscure passage in these words it is easily cleared up by many others. St. Basil calls Christ the God-bearing man, not because he admits a human person in Christ, but to quash the error of Apollinares, who denied that Christ had a rational soul, and the Holy Father only intended, therefore, to show by this expression that the Word assumed both a body and soul; when St. Ambrose and St. Augustin say that the Word assumed man, "assumpsit hominem," they only use the word "hominem" for human nature.

18.—We may as well also here refute the errors of the Bishops Felix and Elipandus, who taught (*ch.* v, *n.* 39), that Jesus Christ as man was not the natural, but only the adopted Son of God. This opinion was condemned by several Councils, and also by the Popes Adrian and Leo X. The learned Petavius (1) says that it is not actually heretical, but at all events it is rash, and approaching to error, for it is more or less opposed to the unity of the Person of Christ, who, even as man, should be called the

(1) Petav. *l.* 7, *c.* 4, *n.* 11, et *c.* 5, *n.* 8.

natural, and not the adopted Son of God, lest we might be drawn in to admit that in Christ there were two Sons, one natural, and the other adopted. There are, however, two reasons to prove that Christ as man should be called the natural Son of God; the more simple one is found in that passage of the Scriptures, in which the Father speaks of the eternal and continual generation of the Son: "Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee" (Psalms, ii, 7). Hence, as the Divine Son was generated previous to his Incarnation, without being personally united to human nature by the flesh, so when he took flesh he was generated, and is always generated, with human nature, hypostatically united to the Divine Person; and hence the Apostle, speaking of Christ as man, applies to him the text of David now quoted: "So Christ also did not glorify himself, that he might be made a high priest, but he that said unto him, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee" (Heb. v, 5). Jesus Christ, therefore, even according to his humanity, is the true Natural Son of God (2).

§ II.

MARY IS THE REAL AND TRUE MOTHER OF GOD.

19.—The truth of this dogma is a necessary consequence of what we have already said on the subject of the two Natures; for if Christ as man is true God, and if Mary be truly the Mother of Christ as man, it necessarily follows that she must be also truly the Mother of God. We will explain it even more clearly by Scripture and tradition. In the first place the Scripture assures us that a Virgin (that is the Virgin Mary) has conceived and brought forth God, as we see in Isaias (vii, 14): "Behold a Virgin shall conceive and shall bring forth a Son, and his name shall be called Emmanuel, which is interpreted (says St. Matthew), God with us." St. Luke, relating what the angel said to Mary, proves the same truth: "Behold thou shalt conceive in the womb, and shalt bring forth a Son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus.

(2) Vide Tournelly, Comp. Theol. *t.* 4, *p.* 2, Incarn. *c.* 3, *ar.* 7, *p.* 800, signanter, *p.* 817, vers. ter.

He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Most High, ...and the Holy which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God" (Luke, i, 31—35.) Mark the words: "shall be called the Son of the Most High," "shall be called the Son of God," that is, shall be celebrated and recognized by the whole world as the Son of God.

20.—St. Paul proves the same truth when he says: "Which he had promised before by his prophets in the Holy Scriptures. Concerning the Son who was made to him in the seed of David, according to the flesh" (Rom. i, 2, 3); and, writing to the Galatians, he says: "When the fulness of time was come God sent his Son made of a woman made under the law" (Gal. iv, 4). This Son, promised by God through the Prophets, and sent in the fulness of time, is God equal to the Father, as has been already proved, and this same God, sprang from the seed of David, according to the flesh, was born of Mary; she is, therefore, the true Mother of this God.

21.—Besides, St. Elizabeth, filled with the Holy Ghost, called Mary the Mother of her Lord: "And whence is this to me that the Mother of my Lord should come to me?" (Luke, i, 43). Who was the Lord of St. Elizabeth, unless God? Jesus Christ himself, also, as often as he called Mary his Mother, called himself the Son of Man, and still the Scriptures attest that without the operation of man he was born of a Virgin. He once asked his disciples: "Whence do men say that the Son of Man is?" (Matt, xvi, 13), and St. Peter answered: "Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God;" and our Saviour answered: "Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona, because flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee, but my Father who is in heaven." Therefore, the Son of Man is the true Son of God, and, consequently, Mary is the Mother of God.

22.—In the second place this truth is proved from tradition. The Symbols or Creeds already quoted against Nestorius, proving that Jesus Christ is true God, also prove that Mary is the true Mother of God, since they teach, "That he was conceived of the Holy Ghost from the Virgin Mary, and was made man." The decree of the Second Council of Nice (*Act.* VII.) even declares, if possible, more clearly, that Mary is the true Mother of God: "Confitemur autem et Dominam nostram sanctam Mariam pro-

prie et veraciter (properly and truly) Dei Genitricem, quoniam peperit carne unum ex S. Trinitate Christum Deum nostrum; secundum quod et Ephesinum prius dogmatizavit Concilium, quod impium Nestorium cum Collegis suis tanquam personalem dualitatem introducentes ab Ecclesia pepulit."

23.—Mary has been called the Mother of God by all the Fathers. I will merely quote from a few who wrote in the early ages previous to Nestorius. St. Ignatius the Martyr (1) says: "Deus noster Jesus Christus ex Maria genitus est." St. Justin (2): "Verbum formatum est, et homo factus est ex Virgine;" and again: "Ex Virginali utero Primogenitum omnium rerum conditarum carne factum vere puerum nasci, id præoccupans per Spiritum Sanctum." St. Iræneus (3) says: "Verbum existens ex Maria, quæ adhuc erat virgo, recte accipiebat generationem Adæ recapitulationis." St. Dionisius of Alexandria writes (4): "Quomodo ais tu, hominem esse eximium Christum, et non revera Deum, et ab omni creatura cum Patre, et Spiritu Sancto adorandum, incarnatum ex Virgine Deipara Maria?" And he adds: "Una sola Virgo filia vitæ genuit Verbum vivens, et per se subsistens increatum, et Creatorem." St. Athanasius (5) says: "Hunc scopum, et characterem sanctæ Scripturæ esse, nempe ut duo de Salvatore demonstret: illum scilicet Deum semper fuisse, et Filium esse.....ipsumque postea propter nos, carne ex Virgine Deipara Maria assumpta, hominem factum esse." St. Gregory of Nazianzen (6) says: "Si quis sanctam Mariam Deiparam non credit, extra Divinitatem est." St. John Chrysostom says (7): "Admodum stupendum est audire Deum ineffabilem, inenarrabilem, incomprehensibilem, Patri æqualem per Virgineam venisse vulvam, et ex muliere nasci dignatum esse." Among the Latin Fathers we will quote a few. Tertullian says (8): "Ante omnia commendanda erit ratio quæ præfuit, ut Dei Filius de Virgine nasceretur." St. Ambrose says (9): "Filium coæternum Patri suscepisse carnem, natum de Spiritu Sancto ex

(1) St. Ignat. Ep. ad Ephe. *a.* 14.
(2) St. Justin, Apol. & Dialog. cum Triphon. *n.* 44.
(3) Iren. *l.* 3, *c.* 21, *al.* 31, *n.* 10.
(4) St. Dionis. Ep. ad Paul, Samos.
(5) St. Athan. Orat. 3, *a.* 4, con. Arian.
(6) St. Greg. Nazian. Orat. 51.
(7) St. Chrysos. Hom. 2, in Matth. *n.* 2.
(8) Tertul. *l.* de Cor. Chris. *c.* 17.
(9) St. Ambr. Ep. 63.

Virgine Maria." St. Jerome says (10): "Natum Deum ex Virgine credimus, quia legimus." St. Augustin (11) says: "Invenisse apud Deum gratiam dicitur (Maria) ut Domini sui, imo omnium Domini Mater esset."

24.—I omit other authorities, and will confine myself to only one, that of John, Bishop of Antioch, who wrote to Nestorius in the name of Theodoret, and several other friends of his, on the name of the Mother of God: "Nomen quod a multis sæpe Patribus usurpatum, ac pronunciatum est, adjungere ne graveris; neque vocabulum, quod piam rectamque notionem animi exprimit, refutare pergas; etenim nomen hoc Theotocos nullus unquam Ecclesiasticorum Doctorum repudiavit. Qui enim illo usi sunt, et multi reperiuntur, et apprime celebres; qui vero illud non usurparunt, nunquam erroris alicujus eos insimularunt, qui illo usi sunt.....Etenim si id quod nominis significatione offertur, non recipimus, restat ut in gravissimum errorem prolabamur, imo vero ut inexplicabilem illam unigeniti Filii Dei œconomiam abnegemus. Quandoquidem nomine hoc sublato vel hujus potius nominis notione repudiata, sequitur mox illum non esse Deum, qui admirabilem illam dispensationem nostræ salutis causa suscepit, tum Dei Verbum neque sese exinanivisse," &c. We may as well mention that St. Cyril wrote to Pope St. Celestine, informing him, that so deeply implanted was this belief in the hearts of the people of Constantinople, that when they heard Dorotheus, by order of Nestorius, pronounce an anathema against those who asserted that she was the Mother of God, they all rose up as one man, refused to hold any more communication with Nestorius, and from that out would not go to the church, a clear proof of what the universal belief of the Church was in those days.

25.—The Fathers adduced several reasons to convince Nestorius. I will only state two: First—It cannot be denied that she is the Mother of God, who conceived and brought forth a Son, who, at the time of his conception, was God. But both Scripture and Tradition prove that our Blessed Lady brought forth this Son of God; she is, therefore, truly the Mother of God. "Si Deus est," says St. Cyril, "Dominus noster Jesus Christus, quomodo Dei Genetrix non est, quæ illum genuit, Sancta

(10) St. Hier. *l.* con. Elvid. (11) St. Aug. in Enchir. *cap.* 36.

Virgo" (12)? Here is the second reason: If Mary be not the Mother of God, then the son whom she brought forth is not God, and, consequently, the Son of God and the son of Mary are not the same. Now Jesus Christ, as we have already seen, has proclaimed himself the Son of God, and he is the son of Mary; therefore, the Nestorians must admit, either that Jesus Christ is not the son of Mary, or that Mary, being the Mother of Jesus Christ, is truly the Mother of God.

THE OBJECTIONS OF THE NESTORIANS ANSWERED.

26.—First, they object that the word Deipara, or Mother of God, is not used either in the Scriptures or in the Symbols of the Councils; but we answer, that neither in Scripture or Symbols do we find the word Christotocos, Mother of Christ; therefore, according to that argument, she should not be called the Mother of Christ, as Nestorius himself calls her. But we will give even a more direct answer. It is just the same thing to say that Mary is the Mother of God, as to say that she conceived and brought forth God; but both Scripture and Councils say that she brought forth a God, they, therefore, proclaim her, in equivalent terms, the Mother of God. Besides, the Fathers of the first centuries, as we have quoted, constantly called her the Mother of God, and the Scripture itself calls her Mother of our Lord, as Elizabeth, when filled with the Holy Ghost, said: "Whence is this to me, that the Mother of my Lord should come to me?"

27.—They object, secondly, that Mary did not generate the Divinity, and, consequently, she cannot be called the Mother of God. We answer, that she should be called the Mother of God, because she was the mother of a man, who was at the same time true God and true man, just as we say that a woman is the mother of a man composed both of soul and body, though she only produces the body, and not the soul, which is created by God alone. Therefore, as Mary, though she has not generated

(12) St. Cyril, Ep. 1 ad Success.

the Divinity, still, as she brought forth a man, according to the flesh, who was, at the same time, God and man, she should be called the Mother of God.

28.—They object, thirdly, that the Mother ought to be consubstantial to the Son; but the Virgin is not consubstantial to God, therefore, she ought not to be called the Mother of God. We answer, that Mary is not consubstantial to Christ as to the Divinity, but merely in humanity alone, and because her son is both man and God, she is called the Mother of God. They say, besides, that if we persist in calling her the Mother of God, we may induce the simple to believe that she is a Goddess herself; but we answer, that the simple are taught by us that she is only a mere creature, but that she brought forth Christ, God and man. Besides, if Nestorius was so scrupulous about calling her the Mother of God, lest the simple might be led to believe that she was a Goddess, he ought to have a greater scruple in denying her that title, lest the simple might be led to believe, that as she was not the Mother of God, consequently Christ was not God.

REFUTATION VIII.

REFUTATION OF THE HERESY OF EUTYCHES, WHO ASSERTED THAT THERE WAS ONLY ONE NATURE IN CHRIST.

1.—The Eutychian heresy is totally opposed to the Nestorian. Nestorius taught that there were two Persons and two Natures in Christ. Eutyches, on the contrary, admitted that there was but one Person, but he asserted that there was but one Nature, likewise, for the Divine Nature, he said, absorbed the human nature. Hence, Nestorius denied the Divinity of Christ, Eutyches his humanity; so both one and the other destroyed the mystery of the Incarnation and of the Redemption of man. We do not exactly know how Eutyches explained his doctrine of only one Nature in Christ. In the Council held by St.

Flavian he merely explained it in these terms: "That our Lord was of two Natures before the union, but after the union only of one Nature." And when the Fathers pressed him to explain more clearly, he only answered, that he came not to dispute, but only to suggest to his Holiness what his opinion was (1). Now, in these few words Eutyches uttered two blasphemies: First—That after the Incarnation there was only one Nature in Christ, that is, the Divine Nature, as he understood it; and, secondly—That before the Incarnation of the Word there were two Natures, the Divine and the human nature. As St. Leo says, writing to St. Flavian: "Cum tam impie duarum Naturarum ante Incarnationem Unigenitus Dei Filius fuisse dicatur, quam nefarie postquam Verbum caro factum est, Natura in eo singularis asseritur."

2.—Returning, however, to the principal error, that the two Natures became one after the Incarnation, that might be asserted to have happened in four ways: First—That one of the Natures was changed into the other. Second—That both Natures were mixed up and confused, and so only formed one. Third—That without this mixing up, the two Natures in their union formed a third. And, fourth—That the human was absorbed by the Divine Nature, and this is, most probably, the opinion of the Eutychians. Now, the Catholic dogma is totally opposed to this unity of the Natures in Christ, no matter in what sense the Eutychians understood it. This is what we are going to prove.

§ I.

IN CHRIST THERE ARE TWO NATURES—THE DIVINE AND THE HUMAN NATURE—DISTINCT, UNMIXED, UNCONFUSED, AND ENTIRE, SUBSISTING INSEPARABLY IN THE ONE HYPOSTASIS, OR PERSON OF THE WORD.

3.—This dogma is proved from the passages of Scripture already quoted against Arius and Nestorius, in which Christ is proved to be both God and man; for, as he could not be called

(1) Tom. 4; Concil. Labbœi. *p.* 223, 226.

God, if he had not perfect Divine Nature, so he could not be called man, if he had not perfect human nature. We will, however, set the matter in a clearer light. In the Gospel of St. John (*Chap.* i), after saying that the Word is God—"In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God"—it is stated in the 14th verse, that human nature was assumed by the Word: "The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us." Hence, St. Leo, in his celebrated Epistle to St. Flavian, says: "Unus idemque (quod sæpe dicendum est) vere Dei Filius, et vere hominis Filius. Deus per id quod in principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum: Homo per id quod Verbum caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis. Deus per id quod omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et sine ipso factum est nihil: Homo per id quod factus est ex muliere, factus sub lege."

4.—The two Natures in Christ are also most clearly proved by that celebrated text of St. Paul (Philip. ii, 6), which we have so frequently quoted: "For let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus, who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of man, and in habit formed as a man." Here the Apostle allows in Christ the form of God, according to which he is equal to God, and the form of a servant, according to which he emptied himself, and was made like unto men. Now, the form of God and the form of a servant cannot be the same form, nor the same Nature; because, if it was the same human nature, we could not say that Christ is equal to God; and, on the contrary, if it was the same Divine Nature, Christ could not be said to have emptied himself, and made himself like unto man. We must, therefore, admit that there are two Natures in Christ, the Divine Nature, by which he is equal to God, and the human nature, by which he is made like unto man.

5.—Besides, this text proves that the two natures in Christ are unmingled and unconfused, each retaining its own properties, because, if the Divine Nature was changed in him, he would no longer be God when he became man; but that would contradict what St. Paul says (Rom. ix, 5): "Of whom is Christ according to the flesh, who is over all things God blessed for ever." Thus Christ is, at the same time, God and man, according to the flesh.

If the human was absorbed by the Divine Nature, or even changed into a Divine substance, as the Eutychians say, as we learn from Theodoret in his Dialogue *Inconfusus*, where Eranistes, an Eutychian, says: "Ego dico mansisse Divinitatem, ab hac vero absorptam esse humanitatem.....ut mare mellis guttam si accipiat, statim enim gutta illa evanescit maris aquæ permixta..... Non dicimus delatam esse naturam, quæ assumpta est, sed mutatam esse in substantiam Divinitatis." Thus the human nature, according to them, was absorbed in the Divine Nature, like a drop of honey in the ocean. But supposing that to be the fact, Christ could no longer be called man as he is in the Gospels, and all the New Testament, and as St. Paul calls him in the text already quoted, and again, in his I. Epistle to Timothy (ii, 6): "The man Christ Jesus, who gave himself in redemption for all." Neither could we say that he emptied himself in human nature, if it was changed into the Divinity. If the human nature, therefore, was thus mixed up with the Divine Nature, Christ would no longer be either true God or true man, but some third sort of Person, which is contrary to the whole teaching of the Scriptures. We are bound, therefore, to conclude that the two Natures in Christ are unmingled and unconfused, and that each Nature retains its own properties.

6.—All those other passages of the Scriptures which affirm that Christ had a true body and a true soul united to that body, confirm the truth of this dogma, for from this it is manifest that the human nature remained entire and unmixed in Christ, and was not confused with the Divine Nature, which remained entire also. That Christ had a real body is proved by St. John, against Simon Magus, Menander, Saturninus, and others, who asserted that his body was not a true, but only an apparent one. Hear the words of St. John: "Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God, and every spirit that dissolveth Jesus Christ (in the Greek version *who does not confess that Jesus is come in the flesh*) is not of God, and this is Antichrist" (I. Epis. iv, 2, 3.) St. Peter (I. Epis. ii, 24), says: "Who of his ownself bore our sins in his body on the tree;" and St. Paul, writing to the Collossians (i, 22), says: "He hath reconciled in the body of his flesh through death;" and again, writing to the Hebrews (x, 5), he puts into the mouth of Jesus these words

of the thirty-ninth Psalm: "Sacrifice and oblation thou wouldst not, but a body thou hast fitted to me." I omit many other passages in which the body of Christ is mentioned. Our Lord himself speaks of his soul in St. John (x, 15), when he says: "I lay down my life (*animam*) for my sheep;" and again (*ver.* 17): "I lay down my life (*animam*), that I may take it again. No man taketh it away from me, but I lay it down of myself." In St. Matthew he says (xxvi, 38): "My soul is sorrowful unto death." It was his blessed soul that was separated from his body at his death, when St. John says (xix, 30), that, "bowing his head, he gave up the ghost." Christ, therefore, had a true body and a true soul united to each other, and he was, therefore, a true man, and that this body and this soul existed whole and entire after the hypostatic union, is clear from the passages quoted, all of which refer to Christ, after this union had taken place. There is no foundation, therefore, for asserting that his human nature was absorbed into the Divinity, or changed into it.

7.—A confirmatory proof is given by those texts in which matters are attributed to Christ which belong to the human nature alone, and not to the Divine Nature, and others, which properly belong to the Divine Nature alone, and not to the human nature. As regards the human nature it is certain that the Divine Nature could not be conceived, could not be born, or grow up to manhood, or suffer hunger or thirst, or weakness, or sorrow, or torments, or death, for it is independent, impassible, and immortal; these feelings belong to human nature alone. Now Jesus Christ was conceived and born of the Virgin Mary (Matt. i). He grew up to manhood: "he advanced in wisdom and in age, and grace with God and man" (Luke, ii, 52); he fasted and was hungry: "When he had fasted forty days and forty nights, afterwards he was hungry" (Matt. iv, 2); he was wearied: "Jesus therefore being weary with his journey, sat thus on the well" (John, iv, 6); he wept: "Seeing the city he wept over it" (Luke, xix, 41); he suffered death: "He was made obedient unto death, even to the death of the Cross" (Phil. ii, 8); and "saying this, he gave up the ghost" (Luke, xxiii, 45); "And crying out with a loud voice he gave up the ghost" (Matt. xxvii, 50). It does not belong, either, to the Divine Nature to pray, to obey, to offer sacrifice, to humble himself, and such like actions, all of which

the Scriptures attribute to Jesus Christ. All these actions, therefore, belong to Jesus as man, and, consequently, after the Incarnation he was true man.

8.—As to the second part, it is certain that human nature cannot be consubstantial to the Father, nor have all that the Father has, nor operate all that the Father operates; it cannot be eternal, nor omnipotent, nor omniscient, nor immutable, and still all these attributes are properly applied to Jesus Christ, as we have proved against Arius and Nestorius; therefore in Jesus Christ there is not alone the human, but also the Divine Nature. St. Leo in his Epistle to St. Flavian states this so forcibly that I cannot omit quoting the original: "Nativitas carnis manifestatio est humanæ naturæ: partus Virginis Divinæ est virtutis indicium: infantia Parvuli ostenditur humilitate cunaram: magnitudo Altissimi declaratur vocibus Angelorum. Similis est rudimentis homines, quem Herodes impius molitur occidere; sed Dominus est omnium, quem Magi gaudentes veniunt suppliciter adorare. Cum ad Præcursoris sui baptismum venit, ne lateret, quod carnis velamine Divinitas operiatur, vox Patris de Cælo intonans dixit: 'Hic est Filius meus dilectus, in quo mihi bene complacui.' Sicut hominem Diabolica tentat astutia, sic Deo Angelica famulantur officia. Esurire, sitire, lassescere, atque dormire, evidentur humanum est: quinque panibus quinque millia hominum satiare, largiri Samaritanæ aquam vivam, &c., sine ambiguitate dicendum est. Non ejusdem naturæ est fiere miserationis affectu, amicum mortuum, et eundem quatriduanæ aggere sepulturæ ad vocis imperium excitare redivivum: aut in ligno pendere, et in noctem luce conversa omnia elementa tremefacere: aut clavis transfixum esse, et Paradisi portas fidei Latroni aperire. Non ejusdem naturæ est dicere: Ego et Pater unum sumus, et dicere: Pater major me est."

9.—Besides the Scripture, tradition has constantly preserved the faith of the two Natures in Christ. In the Apostles' Creed we see this marked down most clearly: "I believe in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord"—here is the Divine Nature—"Who was conceived of the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried"—here is the human nature. In the Creeds of Nice and Constantinople the Divine Nature is thus explained: "And in

our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God.....true God of true God, born, not made, consubstantial to the Father, by whom all things were made." Then the human nature is explained: "Who for us man, and for our salvation came down from heaven, and was incarnate of the Holy Ghost by the Virgin Mary, and was made man: he suffered, was crucified, died, and arose the third day."

10.—Even before the Eutychian heresy sprung up at all, it was condemned by the First Council of Constantinople, in which the Fathers, in their Synodical Epistle to Pope St. Damasus thus write: "Se agnoscere Verbum Dei ante secula omnino perfectum et perfectum hominem in novissimis diebus pro nostra salute factum esse." And St. Damasus, in the Roman Synod (1), had already defined against Apollinares that in Christ there was both a body and an intelligent and rational soul, and that he had not suffered in the Divinity, only in the humanity. In the Council of Ephesus the Second Epistle of St. Cyril to Nestorius in which the dogma of two Natures distinct and unmixed in Christ is expressed, was approved. Here are the words: "Neque enim dicimus Verbi naturam per sui mutationem carnem esse factam, sed neque in totum hominem transformatam ex anima, et corpore constitutam. Asserimus autem Verbum, unita sibi secundum hypostasim carne animata, rationali anima, inexplicabili, incomprehensibilique modo hominem factum, et hominis Filium extitisse.....Et quamvis naturæ sint diversæ, veram tamen unionem coeuntes, unum nobis Christum, et Filium effecerunt. Non quod naturarum differentia propter unionem sublata sit, verum quorum Divinitas, et humanitas secreta quadam ineffabilique conjunctione in una persona unum nobis Jesum Christum, et Filium constituerint."

11.—Besides the Councils we have the authority of the Holy Fathers, likewise, who wrote previous to the Eutychian heresy. These were quoted in the *Actio.* II. of the Council of Chalcedon, and Petavius (2) collected a great number, but I will only call the attention of the reader to a few. St. Ignatius the Martyr (3) thus expresses the doctrine of the two Natures: "Medicus unus est et carnalis, et spiritualis, genitus et ingenitus, seu factus et

(1) Vide *t.* 2, Concil. *p.* 900, 964.
(2) Petav. *l.* 3, de Incar. *c.* 6, 7.
(3) St. Ignat. Ep. Eph. 7.

non factus, in homine existens Deus, in morte vita vera, et ex Maria et ex Deo, primum passibilis, et tunc impassibilis, Jesus Christus Dominus noster." St. Athanasius wrote two books against Apollinares, the predecessor of Eutyches. St. Hilary says (4): "Nescit plane vitam suam, nescit qui Christum Jesum ut verum Deum, ita et verum hominem ignorat." St. Gregory of Nazianzen says (5): "Missus est quidem, sed ut homo; duplex enim erat in eo natura." St. Amphilochius, quoted by Theodoret in the Dialogue *Inconfusus*, writes thus: "Discerne naturas, unam Dei, alteram hominis; neque enim ex Deo excidens homo factus est, neque proficiscens ex homine Deus." St. Ambrose says (6): "Servemus distinctionem Divinitatis, et carnis, unus in utraque loquitur Dei Filius, qui in eodem utraque natura est." St. John Chrysostom says (7): "Neque enim (Propheta) carnem dividit a Divinitate, neque Divinitatem a carne; non substantias confundens, absit, sed unionem ostendens.....Quando dico eum fuisse humiliatum, non dico mutationem, sed humanæ susceptæ naturæ demissionem." St. Augustin writes (8): "Neque enim illa susceptione alterum eorum in alterum conversum, atque mutatum est; nec Divinitas quippe in creaturam mutata est, ut desisteret esse Divinitas; nec creatura in Divinitatem, ut desisteret esse creatura."

12.—I omit a great number of authorities of other Holy Fathers taken into account by the Council of Chalcedon, consisting of nearly six hundred Fathers, in which Eutyches was condemned, and which thus defined the doctrine of the Church (*Act.* V.): "Sequentes igitur Ss. Patres unum eundem confiteri Filium et Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum consonanter omnes docemur, eundem perfectum in Deitate, et eundem perfectum in humanitate, Deum verum, et hominem verum; eundem ex Anima rationali, et corpore; consubstantialem Patri secundem Deitatem, consubstantialem nobiscum secundum humanitatem; ante secula quidem de Patre genitum secundum Deitatem, in novissimis autem diebus eundem propter nos, et propter nostram salutem ex Maria Virgine Dei Genitrice secundum humanitatem, unum eundum Christum, Filium, Dominum, unigenitum in duabus naturis in-

(4) St. Hil. *l.* 9, de Trin.
(5) St. Greg. Nazian. Orat. de Nat.
(6) St. Ambrose, *l.* 2, de Fide, *c.* 9, alias 4, *n.* 79.
(7) St. Chrysos. in Psalm xliv, *n.* 4.
(8) St. Aug. *l.* 1, de Trin. *c.* 7 *n.* 14.

confuse, immutabiliter, indivise, inseparabiliter agnoscendum: nusquam sublata differentia naturarum propter unitionem, magisque salva proprietate utriusque naturæ, et in unam Personam, atque substantiam concurrentes." It is related that the Fathers, after hearing the Dogmatical Epistle of St. Leo to St. Flavian, read in the Council, all cried out as with one voice: "This is the faith of the Fathers and of the Apostles; we and all orthodox believers hold this faith; anathema to him who believes otherwise. Peter has spoken through Leo." The following Councils confirmed the same doctrine, especially the Second Council of Constantinople, which, in the eighth Canon thus decreed: "Si quis ex duabus naturis Deitatis, et humanitatis confitens unitatem factam esse, vel unam naturam Dei Verbi incarnatam dicens, non sic eam excipit, sicut Patres docuerunt, quod ex Divina natura et humana, unione secundum substantiam facta, unus Christus effectus est, sed ex talibus vocibus unam naturam, sive substantiam Deitatis, et carnis Christi introducere conatur: talis anathema sit." The Third Council of Constantinople, in the definition of Faith, repeats the words of the Council of Chalcedon and of the Second Council of Nice: "Duas naturas confitemur ejus, qui incarnatus est propter nos ex intemerata Dei genitrice semper Virgine Maria, perfectum eum Deum, et perfectum hominem cognoscentes."

14.—We may as well give two theological reasons for the dogma. The first is this: if the human nature Christ assumed was, after the Incarnation, absorbed into the Divinity, as the Eutychians believe, there would be an end to the mystery of Redemption, for in that case we should either deny the Passion and death of Jesus Christ altogether, or admit that the Divinity suffered and died, a supposition from which our very nature shrinks with horror.

15.—This is the second reason: if, after the Incarnation but one Nature alone remained in Christ, this must have come to pass, either because one of the two Natures was changed into the other, or because both were so mixed up and confused that they formed but one alone, or at least because, being united together without confusion of any sort they formed a third Nature, just as the union of soul and body in man forms human nature. But so it is that not one of those things could take place in the In-

carnation, consequently both Natures, the Divine and the human, remained entire in Jesus Christ, with all the properties of each.

16.—It is impossible that one of the two Natures could be changed into the other, for in that case the Divine would be changed into the human nature, and that is totally repugnant not only to Faith but to reason itself, for we cannot imagine it even possible that the Divinity should be subject to the slightest change. Then if the human nature was absorbed and changed into the Divine Nature, we should admit that the Divinity was born in Christ, suffered, died, and rose again, which is equally repugnant to Faith and reason, as the Divinity is eternal, impassible, immortal, and unchangeable. Besides, if the Divinity suffered and died, then the Father and the Holy Ghost suffered and died also, for the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost are together one Divinity. Again, if the Divinity was conceived and was born, then the Blessed Virgin did not conceive and bring forth Christ according to the one nature consubstantial to herself, and therefore she is not the Mother of God. Finally, if the humanity was absorbed into the Divinity in Christ, then he could not be our Redeemer, Mediator, and Pontiff of the New Testament, as faith teaches us he is, for these offices required prayers, sacrifice, and humiliations which the Divinity could not fulfil.

17.—Therefore it cannot be asserted, first—That human nature in Christ was changed into the Divine Nature, and much less that the Divine was changed into human nature. Second—It never could happen that the two Natures were mixed up with each other and confused, and so formed one Nature alone in Christ, for in that case the Divinity would be changed, and would become something else; in Christ there would exist neither Divinity nor humanity, but a Nature neither Divine nor human, so that he would be neither true God nor true man. Third—It never could have happened that the two Natures which existed without confusion, and totally distinct from each other, could, by uniting together, form a third nature, common to both, because this common nature must, in that case, have been produced by the two parts, which, uniting together, must be reciprocally perfect, for otherwise, if one part receives nothing from the other, but loses some of its own properties in the union, it will certainly not be as perfect as it was before. Now in Christ the Divine Nature

has received no perfection from the human nature, and it could not lose anything itself, therefore it must have remained as it was before, and consequently could never form with the humanity a third nature, common to both. Besides, a common nature only springs out of several parts, which naturally require a reciprocal union, as is the case in the union of the soul with the body; but that is not the case in Christ, in whom it is not naturally requisite that human nature should be united with the Word, nor is it necessary that the Word should be united with human nature.

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

18.—First, the Eutychians quote certain texts of Scripture, by which it would appear that one Nature is changed into the other, as that of St. John (i, 14): "The Word was made flesh;" therefore the Word was changed into flesh. Also that passage of St. Paul, in which it is said, that "Christ emptied himself, taking the form of a servant" (Phil. ii, 7); therefore, the Divine Nature is changed. We reply to the first objection, that the Word was not changed into flesh, but was made flesh by assuming humanity in the unity of the Person, without suffering any change in the union. Thus it is said also of Jesus Christ (Gal. iii, 13), that "he was made a curse for us," inasmuch as he took on himself the malediction which we deserved, to free us from it. St. John Chrysostom says, that the very words which follow the text they lay so much stress on explain the difference of the two Natures: "The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, and we have seen his glory, the glory as it were of the only begotten of the Father." Now, here the Word is said to have dwelt among us, which is a proof that he is different from us, for that which dwells is different from that which is dwelt in. Here are his words (1): "Quid enim subjicit? 'Et habitavit in nobis.' Non enim mutationem illam incommutabilis illius naturæ significavit, sed habitationem, et commemorationem: porro id quod habitat, non est idem cum eo quod habitatur, sed diversum." And here we may remark, that these expressions of St. John

(1) St. John Chrys. Hom. 11, in Joan.

give a death blow, at the same time, to the Eutychian and Nestorian heresies, for when Nestorius says that the Word dwells in the humanity of Christ alone, because the Evangelist says, "he dwelt among us," he is refuted by the antecedent part of the sentence, "the Word was made flesh," which proves not alone a mere inhabitation, but a union with human nature in one Person; and, on the other hand, when Eutyches says that the Word is said to be turned into flesh, he is refuted by the subsequent expression, "and dwelt among us," which proves that the Word is not changed into flesh (even after the union of the flesh), but remains God the same as before, without confounding the Divine Nature with the human nature he assumed.

19.—We should not be startled, either, at the expression, "made flesh," for this is but a manner of expressing a thing, and does not at all times mean the conversion of one thing into another, but frequently that one thing was superadded to another, as in Genesis we read that Adam "became (was made into, *factus est*) a living soul" (ii, 7). Now, the obvious meaning of this is, not that the body of Adam, which was already created, was converted into a soul, but that the soul was created and joined to the body. St. Cyril makes a very pertinent remark on this in his Dialogue, "De Incarnatione Unigeniti." He says: "At si Verbum inquiunt, factum est caro, jam non amplius mansit Verbum, sed potius desiit esse quod erat. Atqui hoc merum delirium, et dementia est, nihilque aliud quam mentis erratæ ludibrium. Censent enim, ut videtur, per hoc *factum est*, necessaria quadam ratione mutationem, alterationemque significari. Ergo cum psallunt quidam, et *factus est nihilominus in refugium; et rursus, Domine refugium factus est nobis*, quid respondebunt? Anne deus, qui hic decantatur, definens esse Deus, mutatus est in refugium, et translatus est naturaliter in aliud, quod ab initio non erat? Cum itaque Dei mentio fit, si ab alio dicatur illud *factus est*, quo pacto non absurdum, atque adeo vehementer absurdum existimare mutationem aliquam per id significari, et non potius conari id aliqua ratione intelligere, pudenterque ad id quod Deo maxime convenit accommodari?" St. Augustin also explains how the Word was made flesh without any change (2): "Neque

(2) St. August. Ser. 187, & al. 77, de Tempore.

enim, quia dictum est, *Deus erat Verbum, et Verbum caro factum,* sic Verbum caro factum est, ut esse desineret Deus, quando in ipsa carne, quod Verbum caro factum est, Emmanuel natum est nobiscum Deus. Sicut Verbum, quod corde gestamus, sit vox, cum id ore proferimus, non tamen illud in hanc commutatur, sed illo integro, ista in qua procedat, assumitur, ut et intus maneat, quod intelligatur, et soris sonet, quod audiatur. Hoc idem tamen profertur in sono, quod ante sonuerat in silentio. Atque ita in Verbum, cum sit vox, non mutatur in vocem, sed manens in mentis luce, et assumpta carnis voce procedit ad audientem, ut non deferat cogitantem."

20.—As to the second objection, taken from the words, "he emptied himself," the answer is very clear, from what we have said already; for the Word "emptied himself," not by losing what he was, but by assuming what he was not, for he, being God, equal to the Father in his Divine Nature, "took the form of a servant," thereby making himself less than the Father in his assumed nature, and humbling himself in it even to the death of the Cross: "He humbled himself, being made obedient unto death, even to the death of the Cross;" but, notwithstanding, he retained his Divinity, and was, therefore, equal to the Father.

21.—It was not, however, the Eutychians, properly speaking, who made use of these objections, for they did not assert that the Divine was changed into the human nature, but that the human was changed into the Divine Nature, and they quoted some passages of the Holy Fathers, which they did not understand in their true sense, in their favour. First—They say that St. Justin, in his Second Apology, writes, that in the Eucharist the bread is converted into the body of Christ, as the Word was into flesh. But Catholics answer, that the Saint only wished, by this expression, to say that the real and true body of Christ is in the Eucharist, just as the Word in reality assumed and retained human flesh; and the context, if read, shows that this is the true meaning of the passage. The argument is this: that as, in the Incarnation, the Word was made flesh, so, in the Eucharist, the bread is made the body of Christ; but if he intended to teach, as the Eutychians assert, that in the Incarnation of the Word the humanity was absorbed into the Divinity, he never could

have said that in the Eucharist the true body of our Lord exists.

22.—Secondly—They found an objection on that passage of the Athanasian Creed: "As a rational soul and flesh is one man, so God and man is one Christ." Hence, they argue the two Natures are but one. To this we reply, that these words denote an unity of Person, and not of Nature, in Christ, and that is manifest from the words, "one Christ," for by Christ is properly understood the Person, and not the Nature.

23.—They object, thirdly, that St. Iræneus, Tertullian, St. Cyprian, St. Gregory of Nyssa, St. Augustin, and St. Leo (3), call the union of the two Natures a mixture or fusion, and compare it to the mixture of two fluids one with the other. We answer with St. Augustin (as quoted), that these Fathers did not make use of these expressions, because they believed that the two Natures were confounded, but to explain how close the union was, and that the Divine was united to the human nature as closely and intimately as the colouring poured into a liquid unites with every portion of it. This is St. Augustin's explanation: "Sicut in unitate Personæ Anima unitur corpori, ut homo sit: ita in unitate Personæ Deus unitur homini, ut Christus sit. In illa ergo persona mixtura est Animæ et corporis; in hac Persona mixtura est Dei et hominis: si tamen recedat auditor a consuetudine corporum, qua solent duo liquores ita commisceri, ut neuter servet integritatem suam, quamquam et in ipsis corporibus aeri lux incorrupta misceatur." Tertullian previously gave the same explanation.

24.—They object, fourthly, the authority of Pope Julius in his Epistle to Dionisius, Bishop of Corinth, in which he blames those who believed that there were two Natures in Christ, and also one expression of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, quoted by Photius, who says that there are not two Persons, nor two Natures, for then we should be adoring four. But we answer, with Leontius (4), that these Epistles are falsely attributed to these Holy Fathers, for the Epistle attributed to Julius is sup-

(3) St. Iren. *l.* 2, ad. Hær. *c.* 21; Tertull. Apol. *c* 21; St. Cyprian, de Van. Idol.; St Greg. Nyss. Catech. *c.* 25; St. Augus. Ep. 137, al. 3, ad Volusian.; St. Leo, Ser. 3, in die Natal.

(4) Leon. de Sect. *art.* 4.

posed to have been the production of Apollinares, since St. Gregory of Nyssa quotes several passages from it, as written by Apollinares, and refutes them. We have the same reply to make to the quotation from St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, for it is universally supposed to have been written by the Apollinarists, or Eutychians.

They object, fifthly, that St. Gregory of Nyssa says, in his Fourth Oration against Eunomius, that human nature was united with the Divine Word; but we answer, that notwithstanding this union, each Nature retained its own properties, as St. Gregory himself says: "Nihilominus in utraque, quod cuique proprium est, intuetur." Finally, they say, if there were two Natures in Christ, there would be also two Persons; but we have already disposed of that objection in our Refutation of Nestorianism (*Ref.* vii, *n.* 16), in which we have shown that there is nothing repugnant in the existence of two Natures, distinct and unmixed, in the sole Person of Christ.

REFUTATION IX.

OF THE MONOTHELITE HERESY, THAT THERE IS BUT ONE NATURE AND ONE OPERATION ONLY IN CHRIST.

1.—Those heretics who believe that there is only one will in Christ are called Monothelites, and the name is derived from two Greek words, *Monos*, one, and *Thelema*, will, and on that account many of the Arians, who asserted that Christ had no soul, but that the Word took the place of it, can be called Monothelites, as may, in like manner, many Apollinarists, who admitted that Christ had a soul, but without mind, and, consequently, without will. The true Monothelites, however, formed themselves into a sect, in the reign of the Emperor Heraclius, about the year 626. The chief author of this sect was Athanasius, Patriarch of the Jacobites, as we remarked in the History

(*Chap.* vii, *n.* 4), and his first followers were the Patriarchs who succeeded him, Sergius, Cirus, Macarius, Pirrus, and Paul. These admitted two Natures in Christ, the Divine and the human, but denied the two wills, and the two operations belonging to each Nature, asserting that he had but one will, that is, the Divine will, and one operation, the Divine one also; this they called *Theandric*, or belonging to the Man-God, but not in the Catholic sense, in which the operations of Christ in his humanity are called Theandric, as being the operation of the Man-God, and are attributed to the Person of the Word, which sustains and is the term of this humanity, but in a heretical sense, for they believed that the Divine will alone moved the faculties of his human nature, and used them as a mere passive and inanimate instrument. Some of the Monothelites called this operation *Deodecibilem*, or fitted to God, and this expression gives more clearly the peculiar meaning of their heretical tenets. It was a debated question among the ancients, whether the Monothelites, by the word "will," meant the faculty of wishing, or the act of volition itself. Petavius thinks it most probable (1) that they understood by it, not the act of volition itself, but the power of wishing at all, which they say the humanity of Christ did not possess. The Catholic dogma, however, rejects it in both senses, and teaches that as in Christ there were two Natures, so there were Divine will and volition with the Divine operation, and human will and volition with the human operation.

§ I.

IT IS PROVED THAT THERE ARE TWO DISTINCT WILLS IN CHRIST, DIVINE AND HUMAN, ACCORDING TO THE TWO NATURES, AND TWO OPERATIONS, ACCORDING TO THE TWO WILLS.

2.—It is proved, in the first place, by the Scriptures, that Christ has a Divine will, for every text that proves his Divinity, proves that, as the will cannot be separated from the Divinity.

(1) Petav. *l.* 8, de Incar. *c.* 4, et seq.

We have already quoted all these texts against the Nestorians and Eutychians, so there is no necessity of repeating them here, especially as the Monothelites do not deny the Divine, but only the human will, in Christ. There are, however, numberless texts to prove that our Redeemer had a human will likewise. St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Hebrews (x, 5), applies to Christ the words of the 39th Psalm (*ver.* 8, 9): "Wherefore, when he cometh into the world he said.....Behold, I come; in the head of the book it is written of me, that I should do the will of God." In the 39th Psalm, also, we find: "In the head of the book it is written of me, that I should do thy will, O my God; I have desired it, and thy law in the midst of my heart" (*ver.* 9). Now, here both wills are distinctly marked—the Divine, "that I may do thy will, O God;" and the human will, subject to the Divine will, "O my God, I have desired it." Christ himself draws the same distinction in many places; thus in John (v, 30), he says: "I seek not my own will, but the will of him who sent me." And again: "I came down from heaven, not to do my own will, but the will of him who sent me" (vi, 38). St. Leo explains this in his Epistle to the Emperor, for he says, that according to the form of a servant, "secundum formam servi," that is, as man, he came not to do his own will, but the will of him who sent him.

3.—Christ, who says in St. Matthew (xxvi, 39): "My Father, if it is possible, let this chalice pass from me, nevertheless, not as I will, but as thou wilt." And in St. Mark (xiv, 36): "Abba, Father, all things are possible to thee, remove this chalice from me, but not what I will, but what thou wilt." Now, the two texts clearly show the Divine will which Christ had, in common with the Father, and the human will which he subjected to the will of his Father. Hence, St. Athanasius, writing against Apollinares, says: "Duas voluntates hic ostendit, humanam quidem quæ est carnis, alteram vero Divinam. Humana enim propter carnis imbecillitatem recusat passionem, Divina autem ejus voluntas est promta." And St. Augustin says (1): "In eo quod ait, *non quod ego volo*, aliud se ostendit voluisse, quam Pater, quod nisi humano corde non potest; nunquam enim posset immutabilis illa natura quidquam aliud velle, quam Pater."

(1) St. Augus. *l.* 2, Adv. Maximin. *c.* 20.

4.—The Catholic dogma is proved also by all those texts in which Christ is said to have obeyed his Father. In St. John, (xii, 49), we read: "For I have not spoken of myself, but the Father who sent me, he gave me commandment what I should say, and what I should speak." And again: "As the Father giveth me commandment, so do I" (xiv, 31). And St. Paul, writing to the Philippians, says, "that he was made obedient unto death, even unto the death of the Cross." Many other texts are of the same tenor. All this proves that there must be a human will, for he who has no will can neither obey nor be commanded. It is most certain that the Divine will cannot be commanded, as it recognizes no will superior to itself. The obedience of Christ, therefore, to his Father, proves that he must have had a human will: "Qua," says Pope Agatho, "a lumine veritatis se adeo separavit, ut audeat dicere, Dominum nostrum Jesum Cristum voluntate suæ Divinitatis Patri obedisse, cui est æqualis in omnibus, et vult ipse quoque in omnibus, quod Pater?"

5.—We pass over other Scripture arguments, and come to Tradition; and, first of all, we shall see what the Fathers who lived before the rise of the heresy said on the subject. St. Ambrose says (2): "Quod autem ait: *Non mea voluntas, sed tua fiat, suam,* ad hominem retulit; *Patris,* ad Divinitatem: voluntas enim hominis, temporalis; voluntas Divinitatis, æterna." St. Leo, in his Epistle 24 (*a.* 10, *c.* 4), to St. Flavian, against Eutyches, thus writes: "Qui verus est Deus, idem verus est homo; et nullam est in hac unitate mendacium, dum invicem sunt, et humilitas hominis, et altitudo Deitatis.....Agit enim utraque forma cum alterius communione, quod proprium est; Verbo scilicet operante, quod Verbi est, et carne exequente, quod carnis est." I omit many other authorities from St. Chrysostom, St. Cyril of Alexandria, St. Jerome, and others referred to by Petavius (3). Sophronius compiled two whole books of them against Sergius, as we find from the petition of Stephen Duresius to the Council of Lateran, under Martin I., in 649. It is proved also by the Creeds, in which it is professed that Christ is at the same time true God and true man, perfect in both Natures. If Christ had not human will, one of the natural faculties of the

(2) St. Ambros. *l.* 20. in Luc. *n.* 59, & 60. (3) Petav. *l.* 3. de Incarn. *c.* 8 & 9.

soul, he would not be a perfect man, no more than he would be perfect God, if he had not Divine will. The Councils whose Decrees we have already quoted against Nestorius, have defined that there are two Natures in Christ, distinct and perfect in all their properties, and that could not be the fact, unless each of the two Natures had its proper natural will and natural operation. A Portuguese writer, Hippolitus, in his Fragments against Vero, from the distinction of the different operations in Christ, argued that there was a distinction of the two Natures, because if there was but one will and one operation in Christ, there would be but one Nature: "Quæ sunt inter se ejusdem operationis, et cognitionis, et omnino idem patiuntur, nullam naturæ differentiam recipiunt."

6.—All these things being taken into consideration, in the Third General Council of Constantinople, under Pope Agatho, it was thought proper to condemn, in one Decree, (*Act.* 18), all the heresies against the Incarnation condemned in the five preceding General Councils. Here is the Decree, in the very words: "Assequti quoque sancta quinque universalia Concilia, et sanctos atque probabiles Patres, consonanterque confiteri definientes, D.N. Jesum Christum verum Deum nostrum, unum de sancta, et consubstantiali, et vitæ originem præbente Trinitate, perfectum in Deitate, et perfectum eundem in humanitate, Deum vere, et hominem vere, eundem ex Anima rationali et corpore, consubstantialem Patri secundum Deitatem, et consubstantialem nobis secundum humanitatem, per omnia similem nobis absque peccato; ante secula quidem ex Patre genitum secundum Deitatem, in ultimis diebus autem eundem propter nos et propter nostram salutem de Spiritu Sancto, et Maria Virgine proprie, et veraciter Dei Genitrice secundum humanitatem, unum eundemque Christum Filium Dei unigenitum in duabus naturis inconfuse, inconvertibiliter, inseparabiliter, indivise cognoscendum, nusquam extincta harum naturarum differentia propter unitatem, salvataque magis proprietate utriusque naturæ, et in unam Personam, et in unam subsistentiam concurrente, non in duas Personas partitam, vel divisam, sed unum eundemque unigenitum Filium Dei, Verbum D. N. Jesum Christum; et duas naturales voluntates in eo, et duas naturales operationes indivise, inconvertibiliter, inseparabiliter, inconfuse secundum Ss. Patrum doctrinam, adeoque præ-

dicamus ; et duas naturales voluntates, non contrarias, absit, juxta quod impii asseruerunt Hæretici, sed sequentem ejus humanam voluntatem, et non resistentem, vel reluctantem, sed potius, et subjectam Divinæ ejus, atque omnipotenti voluntati..... His igitur cum omni undique cautela, atque diligentia a nobis formatis, definimus aliam Fidem nulli licere proferre, aut conscribere, compenere, aut fovere, vel etiam aliter docere."

7.—The principal proofs from reason alone against this heresy have been already previously given. First—Because Christ having a perfect human nature, he must have, besides, a human will, without which his humanity would be imperfect, being deprived of one of its natural powers. Secondly—Because Christ obeyed, prayed, merited, and satisfied for us, and all this could not be done without a created human will, for it would be absurd to attribute it to the Divine will. Thirdly—We prove it from that principle of St. Gregory of Nazianzen, adopted by the other Fathers, that what the Word assumed he healed, and hence St. John of Damascus (3) concludes that as he healed human will he must have had it : " Si non assumsit humanam voluntatem, remedium ei non attulit, quod primum sauciatum erat ; quod enim assumtum non est, nec est curatum, ut ait Gregorius Theologus. Ecquid enim offenderat, nisi voluntas ?"

§ II.

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

8.—The Monothelites object, first, that prayer of St. Dionisius in his Epistle to Caius : " Deo viro facto unam quandum Theandricam, seu Deivirilem operationem expressit in vita ;" that is, that in the God made man there is one Theandric or human-divine operation. We answer, with Sophronius, that this passage was corrupted by the Monothelites, by changing the word, " novam quamdam" into " unam quandam," or a *new sort* of Theandric operation, into *some one* Theandric operation. This was noticed in the Third Council of Lateran, in which St. Martin commanded

(3) St. Joan. Damas. Ora. de duab. Chris. Volunt.

the Notary Paschasias to read the Greek copy that was preserved, and the words were found to be *novam quandam*, &c., and not *unam*, &c., and this was in no wise opposed to the Catholic doctrine, and can be explained two ways in an orthodox sense. First—As St. John of Damascus says, every operation (1) performed by Christ by the Divine and human nature is Theandric, or human-divine, because it is the operation of a Man-God, and is attributed to the Person of Christ, the term, at the same time, of both the Divine and human nature. The second sense, as Sophronius and St. Maximus lay down is this, that the new Theandric operation St. Dionisius speaks of should be restricted to those operations of Christ alone, in which the Divine and human natures concur, and, therefore, there are three distinct operations to be noted in him: first, those which peculiarly belong to human nature alone, as walking, eating, sitting, and so forth; secondly, those which belong purely to the Divine Nature, as remitting sins, working miracles, and the like; and, thirdly, those which proceed from both Natures, as healing the sick by touching them, raising the dead by calling them, &c.; and it is of operations of this sort that the passage of St. Dionisius is to be explained.

9.—Secondly—They object that St. Athanasius (2) admits the Divine Will only, "*voluntatem Deitatis tantum;*" but we answer that this does not exclude human will, but only that opposing will which springs from sin, as the context proves. Thirdly—They object that St. Gregory of Nazianzen (3) says that the will of Christ was not opposed to God, as it was *totally* Deified: "*Christi velle non fuisse Deo contrarium, utpote Deificatem totum.*" We answer, with St. Maximus and St. Agatho, that there is not the least doubt but that St. Gregory admitted two wills, and the whole meaning of this expression is that the human will of Christ was never opposed to the Divine will. They object, fourthly, that St. Gregory of Nyssa, writing against Eunomius says, that the Deity worked out the salvation of man; the suffering, he says, was of the flesh, but the operation was of God: "Operatur vere Deitas per corpus, quod circa ipsam est omnium salutem, ut sit carnis quidem passio, Dei autem operatio."

(1) St. Jo. Damas. *l.* 3, de Fide Orthodox. *c.* 19.

(2) St. Athanas. in *l.* de Adv. Chri.

(3) St. Greg. Naz. Orat. 2 de Filio.

This objection was answered in the Sixth Council, for the Saint having said that the humanity of Christ suffered, admitted by that that Christ operated by the humanity. All that St. Gregory in fact wanted to prove against Eunomius was, that the sufferings and the operations of Christ received a supreme value from the Person of the Word who sustains his humanity, and therefore he attributed these operations to the Word. They object, fifthly, that St. Cyril of Alexandria (4) says that Christ showed some *cognate* operation, "*quandum cognatam operationem.*" We reply, that from the context it is manifest that the Saint speaks of the miracles of Christ in which his Divine Nature operated by his omnipotence, and his human nature by the contact, commanded by his human will; and thus this operation is called by the Saint an associated one. Sixthly, they object that many of the Fathers called the human nature of Christ the instrument of the Divinity. We answer, that these Fathers never understood the humanity to have been an inanimate instrument, which operated nothing of itself, as the Monothelites say, but their meaning was that the Word being united with the humanity, governed it as its own, and operated through its powers and faculties. Finally, they oppose to us some passages of Pope Julius, of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, and some writings of Menna to Vigilius, and of Vigilius to Menna; but our reply to this is that these passages are not authentic, but were foisted into the works of the Fathers by the Apollinarists and Eutychians. It was proved in the Sixth Council (*Act.* XIV.), that the writings attributed to Menna and Vigilius were forged by the Monothelites.

10.—The Monothelites endeavour to prop up their opinions by several other reasons. If you admit two wills in Christ, they say, you must also admit an opposition between them. But we, Catholics, say that this supposition is totally false; the human will of Christ never could oppose the Divine will, for he took our nature, and was made in all things like us, but with the exception of sin; as St. Paul says (Heb. iv, 15), he was "one tempted in all things like as we are, without sin." He never, therefore, had those movements we have to violate the Divine law, but his will was always conformable to the Divine will. The Fathers make

(4) St. Cyril, Alex. *l.* 4, in Joan.

a distinction between the natural and arbitrary will; the natural will is the power itself of wishing, the arbitrary will is the power of wishing anything, either good or bad. Christ had the natural human will, but not the arbitrary human will, for he always wished, and could only wish what was most conformable to the Divine will, and hence he says; "I do always the things that please him" (John, viii, 29). It is because the Monothelites have not made this distinction of the will that they deny altogether to Christ human will: "Sicut origo erroris Nestorianorum et Eutychianorum fuit, quod non satis distinguerent personam, et naturam; sic et Monothelitis, et quod nescirent quia inter voluntatem *Naturalem*, et *Personalem*, sive *Arbitrarium* discriminis interesset, hoc in causa fuisse, ut unam in Christo dicerent voluntatem" (5).

11.—They say, secondly, that there being only one Person there must be only one will, because, the Mover being but one, the faculty by which he moves the inferior powers must be but one likewise. We answer, that where there is but one Person and one Nature there can be only one will and one operation, but where there is one Person and two Natures, as the Divine and human nature in Christ, we must admit two wills and two distinct operations, corresponding to the two Natures. They say, very properly, that the will and the operations are not multiplied according as the Persons are multipled, for in the case where one Nature is the term of several Persons, as is the case in the Most Holy Trinity, then in this Nature there is only one will and one operation alone, common to all the Persons included in the term of the Nature. Here the Monothelites have reason on their side, for the Mover is but one. But it is quite otherwise when the Person is one of the two Natures, for then the Mover, although but one, has to move two Natures, by which he operates, and, consequently, he must have two wills and two operations.

12.—They make a third objection. The operations, they say, belong to two Persons, and, consequently, when the Person is but one, the operation must be but one likewise. We answer, that it is not always the case that when there is but one Person that there is but one operating faculty, but when there are more

(5) St. Joan.Damas Orat. de 2 Chris. Volent.

Persons than one, then there must be more than one operating faculty. There are three Persons in God, but only one operation common to all three, because the Divine Nature is one and indivisible in God. But as in Jesus Christ there are two distinct Natures, there are, therefore, two wills, by which he operates, and two operations corresponding to each Nature; and, although all the operations, both of the Divine and human Nature are attributed to the Word, which terminates and sustains the two Natures, still the will and operations of the Divine Nature should not be confounded with those of the human nature; neither are the two Natures confused because the Person is one.

REFUTATION X.

THE HERESY OF BERENGARIUS, AND THE PRETENDED REFORMERS, CONCERNING THE MOST HOLY SACRAMENT OF THE EUCHARIST.

1.—Mosheim, the Protestant Ecclesiastical Historian, asserts(1) that in the 9th century, the exact nature of the faith of the body and blood of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist was not established, and that, therefore, Pascasius Radbertus laid down in a book he wrote two principal points concerning it; first, that after the consecration nothing remained of the substance of the bread and wine, and, secondly, that in the consecrated Host is the very body of Jesus Christ, which was born of Mary, died on the cross, and arose from the sepulchre, and this, he said, is "what the whole world believes and professes." This work was opposed by Retramn, and perhaps others, and hence Mosheim concludes that the dogma was not then established. In this, however, he is astray, for, as Selvaggi writes (*note* 79, *vol.* iii), there was no controversy at all about the dogma, in which

(1) Mosh. His. *t.* 3, Cent. IX. *c.* 3, *p.* 1175.

Retramn was agreed with Radbert; he only attacked some expressions in his work. The truth of the Real Presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the altar has been always established and universally embraced by the whole Church, as Vincent of Lerins says, in 434: "Mos iste semper in Ecclesia viguit, ut quo quisque forte religiosior, eo promtius novellis adinventionibus contrairet." Up to the ninth century the Sacrament of the Eucharist never was impugned, till John Scotus Erigena, an Irishman, first published to the world the unheard-of heresy that the body and blood of Christ were not in reality in the Holy Eucharist, which, he said, was only a figure of Jesus Christ.

2.—Berengarius, or Berenger, taught the same heresy in the year 1050, taking his opinions from the works of Scotus Erigena, and in the twelfth century we find the Petrobrussians and Henricians, who said that the Eucharist was only a mere sign of the body and blood of our Lord. The Albigenses held the same error in the thirteenth century, and finally, in the sixteenth century the modern Reformers all joined in attacking this Holy Sacrament. Zuingle and Carlostad said that the Eucharist was a signification of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, and Ecolampadius joined them afterwards, and Bucer, also, partially. Luther admitted the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist, but said that the substance of the bread remained there also. Calvin several times changed his opinion on the matter; he said, in order to deceive the Catholics, that the Eucharist was not a mere sign, or naked figure of Christ, but was filled with his Divine Virtue, and sometimes he even admitted that the very substance of the body of Christ was there, but his general opinion was that the presence of Christ was not real but figurative, by the power placed there by our Lord. Hence Bossuet says in his "Variations," he never wished to admit that the sinner, in communicating receives the body of Christ, for then he should admit the Real Presence. The Council of Trent (*Sess.* xiii, *c.* 1), teaches, "that Jesus Christ, God and man, is really, truly, and substantially contained under the appearance of those sensible things in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, after the consecration of the bread and wine."

3.—Before we prove the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist, we must know that it is a true Sacrament, as the Council

of Florence declares in its Decree or Instruction for the Armenians; and the Council of Trent (*Sess.* vii. *c.* 1), in opposition to the Socinians, who say that it is not a Sacrament, but merely a remembrance of the death of our Saviour. It is, however, an article of Faith that the Eucharist is a true Sacrament; for, First, we have the sensible sign, the appearance of bread and wine. Secondly, there is the institution of Christ: "Do this in commemoration of me" (Luke, xxii). Thirdly, there is the promise of Grace: "Who eats my flesh.....hath eternal life." We now have to inquire what in the Eucharist constitutes a Sacrament. The Lutherans say that it is in the use, with all the actions that Christ did, at the last Supper, that the Sacrament consists, as St. Matthew tells us: "Jesus took bread, blessed it, and broke it, and gave it to his disciples" (Matt. xxvi). The Calvinists, on the other hand, say that it is in the actual eating that the Sacrament consists. We Catholics believe that the consecration is not the Sacrament, because that is a transitory action, and the Eucharist is a permanent Sacrament, as we shall show hereafter (*sec.* 3), nor the use or communion, for this regards the effect of the Sacrament, which is a Sacrament before it is received at all, nor in the species alone, for these do not confer Grace, nor the body of Jesus Christ alone, because it is not there in a sensible manner; but the sacramental species, together with the body of Christ, form the Sacrament, inasmuch as they contain the body of our Lord.

§ I.

OF THE REAL PRESENCE OF THE BODY AND BLOOD OF JESUS CHRIST IN THE EUCHARIST.

4.—We have already said that the Council of Trent (*Sess.* xiii, *c.* 3) teaches that Jesus Christ is contained in the sacramental species, *truly, really, and substantially—truly*, rejecting the figurative presence, for the figure is opposed to truth; *really*, rejecting the imaginary presence which Faith makes us aware of, as the Sacramentarians assert; and *substantially*, rejecting the

doctrine of Calvin, who said that in the Eucharist it was not the body of Christ, but his virtue or power, that was present, by which he communicates himself to us; but in this he erred, for the whole substance of Jesus Christ is in the Eucharist. Hence, the Council of Trent (*Can.* 1), condemns those who assert that Christ is in the Sacrament as a sign, or figure, *signo, vel figura, aut virtute.*

5.—The Real Presence is proved, first, by the words of Christ himself: "Take and eat, this is my body," words which are quoted by St. Matthew (xxvi, 26); St. Mark (xiv, 22); St. Luke (xxii, 19); and St. Paul (I. Cor. xi, 24). It is a certain rule, says St. Augustin (1), and is commonly followed by the Holy Fathers, to take the words of Scripture in their proper literal sense, unless some absurdity would result from doing so; for if it were allowed to explain every thing in a mystic sense, it would be impossible to prove any article of Faith from the Scripture, and it would only become the source of a thousand errors, as every one would give it whatever sense he pleased. Therefore, says the Council (*Cap.* 1), it is an enormous wickedness to distort the words of Christ by feigned figurative explanations, when three of the Evangelists and St. Paul give them just as he expressed them: "Quæ verba a sanctis Evangelistis commemorata, et a D. Paulo repetita cum propriam illam significationem præ se ferant.....indignissimum flagitium est ea ad fictitios tropos contra universum Ecclesiæ sensum detorqueri." Who will dare to doubt that it is his body and blood, says St. Cyril of Jerusalem, when Christ has said so (2)? "Cum ipse de pane pronunciaverit. Hoc est corpus meum, quis audebit deinceps ambigere? Et cum idem Ipse dixerit. Hic est sanguis meus, quis dicet non esse ejus sanguinem?" We put this question to the heretics: Could Jesus Christ turn the bread into his body or not? We believe not one of them will deny that he could, for every Christian knows that God is all-powerful, "because no word shall be impossible with God" (Luke i, 37). But they will answer, perhaps: We do not deny that he could, but perhaps he did not wish to do it. Did not wish to do it, perhaps? But tell me, if he did wish to do so, could he have

(1) St. Aug. *l.* 3, de Doct. Chris. *c.* 10.

(2) St. Cyril, Hieros. Cath. Mystagog. 4.

possibly declared more clearly what his will was, than by saying: "This is my body?" When he was asked by Caiphas: "Art thou the Christ the Son of the blessed God? And Jesus said to him: I am" (Mark, xiv, 61, 62), we should say, according to their mode of explanation, that he spoke figuratively also. Besides, if you allow, with the Sacramentarians, that the words of Christ: "This is my body," are to be taken figuratively, why, then, do you object to the Socinians, who say that the words of Christ, quoted by St. John (x, 30): "I and the Father are one," ought to be taken not literally, but merely showing that between Christ and the Father there existed a moral union of the will, but not a union of substance, and, consequently denied his Divinity. We now pass on to the other proofs.

6.—The Real Presence is proved, secondly, by that text of St. John where Christ says: "The bread that I will give is my flesh for the life of the world" (John, vi, 52). Our adversaries explain away this text, by saying, that here our Redeemer does not in this chapter speak of the Eucharist, but of the Incarnation of the Word. We do not say that in the beginning of the chapter it is the Incarnation that is spoken of; but there cannot be the least doubt but that from the 52nd verse out it is the Eucharist, as even Calvin admits (3); and it was thus the Fathers and Councils always understood it, as the Council of Trent, which (*Cap.* 2, *Sess.* xiii, and *Cap.* 1, *Sess.* xxii) quotes several passages from that chapter to confirm the Real Presence; and the Second Council of Nice (*Act.* 6) quotes the 54th verse of the same chapter: "Unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man," &c., to prove that the true body of Christ is offered up in the Sacrifice of the Mass. It is in this chapter, also, that our Saviour promises to give to the Faithful, at a future time, his own flesh as food: "The bread that I will give is my flesh, for the life of the world" (*ver.* 52), and here he sets totally aside the false explanation of the sectarians, who say that he only speaks of the spiritual manducation by means of Faith, in believing the Incarnation of the Word; for if that was our Lord's meaning, he would not say: "The bread which I *will* give," but "the bread which I *have* given," for the Word was already incarnate, and his disciples

(3) Calvin. Instit. *l.* 4, *c.* 17, *s.* 1.

might then spiritually feed on Jesus Christ; therefore he said: "*I will give,*" for he had not as yet instituted the Sacrament, but only promised to do so, and as St. Thomas (4) remarks, he says, "the bread which I will give is my flesh, for the life of the world;" he did not say, it means my flesh (as the Zuinglians afterwards explained it), but it is my flesh, because it is truly the body of Christ which is received. Our Lord next says: "My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed" (John, vi, 56); and, therefore, St. Hilary (5) says he leaves us no room to doubt of the truth of his body and blood. In fact, if the real body and blood of Christ were not in the Eucharist, this passage would be a downright falsehood. We should not forget, also, that the distinction between meat and drink can only be understood as referring to the eating of the true body, and drinking the true blood of Christ, and not of spiritual eating by faith, as the Reformers assert; for, as that is totally internal, the meat and the drink would be only one and the same thing, and not two distinct things.

7.—We have another strong proof in the same chapter of St. John (*chap.* vi); for the people of Caphernaum, hearing Christ speak thus, said: "How can this man give us his flesh to eat?" (*ver.* 53); and they even thought it so unreasonable, that "after this many of his disciples went back, and walked no more with him" (*ver.* 67). Now, if the flesh of Christ was not really in the Eucharist, he could remove the scandal from them at once, by saying that it was only spiritually they were called on to eat his flesh by faith; but, instead of that, he only confirmed more strongly what he said before, for he said: "Except you eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, you shall not have life in you" (*ver.* 54). And he then turned to the twelve disciples, who remained with him, and said: "Will you also go away? And Peter answered him: Lord, to whom shall we go? thou hast the words of eternal life, and we have believed and have known that thou art the Christ the Son of God" (*ver.* 69, 70).

8.—The Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist is proved also from the words of St. Paul: "For let a man prove himself.....for he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and

(4) St. Thom. Lec. 9, in Joan. (5) St Hilar. *l.* 8, de Trin. *n.* 13.

drinketh judgment to himself, not discerning the body of the Lord" (I. Cor. xi, 28, 29). Now, mark these words, "the body of the Lord." Does not that prove how erroneously the sectarians act, in saying that in the Eucharist we venerate, by faith, the figure alone of the body of Christ; for if that was the case, the Apostle would not say that they who received in sin were deserving of eternal condemnation; but he clearly states that one who communicates unworthily is so, for he does not distinguish the body of the Lord from the common earthly food.

9.—Fourthly, it is proved again from St. Paul, for speaking of the use of this Holy Sacrament, he says: "The chalice of benediction which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? and the bread which we break, is it not the partaking of the body of the Lord?" (I. Cor. x, 16). Mark the words, "the bread which we break;" that which is first offered to God on the altar, and afterwards distributed to the people, is it not the partaking of the body of the Lord? Do not, in a word, those who receive it partake of the true body of Christ?

10.—Fifthly, it is proved by the Decrees of Councils. We find it first mentioned in the Council of Alexandria, which was afterwards approved of by the first Council of Constantinople. Next, the Council of Ephesus sanctioned the twelve anathematisms of St. Cyril against Nestorius, and in this the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist is taught. The Second Council of Nice (*Act.* 6) condemns, as an error against Faith, the assertion that the figure alone, and not the true body of Christ, is in the Eucharist; for, says the Council, Christ said, take and eat, this is my body, but he did not say, take and eat, this is the image of my body. In the Roman Council, under Gregory VII., in 1079, Berengarius, in the Profession of Faith which he made, confesses that the bread and wine are, by the consecration, substantially converted into the body and blood of Christ. The Fourth Council of Lateran, under Innocent III., in the year 1215 (*chap.* 1), says: "We believe that the body and blood of Christ are contained under the species of bread and wine, the bread being transubstantiated into the body, and the wine into the blood." In the Council of Constance the Propositions of Wickliffe and Huss were condemned, which said that (in the

Eucharist) the bread was present in reality, and the body figuratively, and that the expression "this is my body" is a figure of speech, just like the expression, "John is Elias".....The Council of Florence, in the Decree of Union for the Greeks, decrees, "that the body of Christ is truly consecrated (*veracitur confici*) in bread of wheat, either leavened or unleavened."

11.—It is proved, sixthly, by the perpetual and uniform Tradition of the Holy Fathers. St. Ignatius the Martyr (6) says: "Eucharistiam non admittunt, quod non confiteantur Eucharistiam esse carnem Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi." St. Iræneus (7): "Panis percipiens invocationem Dei jam non communis panis est sed Eucharistia." And in another place he says (8): "Eum, panem in quo gratiæ sunt actæ, corpus esse Christi, et calicem sanguinis ejus." St. Justin, Martyr, writes (9): "Non hunc ut communem panem suminus, sed quemadmodum per verbum Dei caro factum est J. C. carnem habuit," &c. He, therefore, says, that the same flesh which the Word assumed is in the Eucharist. Tertullian (10) says: "Caro corpore et sanguine Christi vescitur, ut et anima de Deo saginetur." Origen writes (11): "Quando vitæ pane et poculo frueris, manducas et bibis, corpus et sanguinem Domini." Hear St. Ambrose (12): "Panis iste panis est ante verba Sacramentorum; ubi accesserit consecratio, de pane fit caro Christi." St Chrysostom says (13): "Quot nunc dicunt vellem ipsius formam aspicere.....Ecce eum vides, Ipsum tangis, Ipsum manducas." St. Athañasius, St. Basil, and St. Gregory of Nazianzen, express the same sentiments (14). St. Augustin says (15): "Sicut mediatorem Dei et hominum, hominem Christum Jesum, carnem suam nobis manducandam, bibendumque sanguinem dantem fidei corde suspicimus." St. Remigius (16) says: "Licet panis videatur, in veritate corpus Christi est." St. Gregory the Great writes (17): "Quid sit sanguis agni non jam audiendo sed libendo didicistis qui sanguis super utrumque postem ponitur quando non solum ore corporis,

(6) St. Ignat. Ep. ad Smirn. ap. Theodor. Dial. 3.
(7) St. Iræn. *l.* ad Hær. *c.* 18, al 34.
(8) Idem, *l.* 4, *c.* 34.
(9) St. Justin. Apol. 2.
(10) Tertul. *l.* Resur. *c.* 8.
(11) Orig. Hom. 5, in divers.
(12) St. Amb. *l.* 4, de Sacram. *c.* 4.
(13) St. Chrys. Hom. ad Pop. Antioch.
(14) Apud. Antoin. de Euch. Theol. Univer. *c.* 4, 1.
(15) St. Aug. *l.* 2, con. adver. legis. *c.* 9.
(16) St. Remig. in Ep. ad Cor. *c.* 10.
(17) St. Greg. Hom. 22, in Evang.

sed etiam ore cordis hauritur." St. John of Damascus (18) writes: "Panis, ac vinum, et aqua qua per Spiritus Sancti invocationem et adventum mirabili modo in Christi corpus et sanguinem vertuntur." Thus we see an uninterrupted series of Fathers for the first seven centuries proclaiming, in the clearest and most forcible language, the doctrine of the Real Presence of Jesus Christ in the Most Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist.

12.—By this we see how false is the interpretation which Zuinglius put on that text, "This is my body," when he said that the word *is* means *signifies*, founding his heresy on a verse of Exodus (xii, 11): "For it is the Phase (that is the passage) of the Lord." Now, said he, the eating of the paschal lamb was not itself the passage of the Lord; it only meant it, or signified it. The Zuinglians alone follow this interpretation, for we never can take the sense of the word *is* for the word *means* or *signifies*, unless in cases, where reason itself shows that the word *is* has a figurative meaning; but in this case the Zuinglian explanation is contrary to the proper literal sense, in which we should always understand the Scriptures, when that sense is not repugnant to reason. The Zuinglian explanation is also opposed to St. Paul, relating to us the very words of Christ: "This is my body, which shall be delivered up for you" (I. Cor. xi, 24). Our Lord, we see, did not deliver up, in his Passion, the sign or signification of his body, but his real and true body. The Zuinglians say, besides, that in the Syro-Chaldaic or Hebrew, in which our Redeemer spoke, when instituting the Eucharist, that there is no word corresponding in meaning to our word *signify*, and hence, in the Old Testament, we always find the word *is* used instead of it, and, therefore, the words of Christ, "This *is* my body," should be understood, as if he said, "This *signifies* my body." We answer: First—It is not the fact that the word *signifies* is never found in the Old Testament, for we find in Exodus: "Man-hu! which *signifieth*: What is this" (Exod. xvi, 15); and in Judges (xiv, 15): "Persuade him to tell thee what the riddle *meaneth*;" and in Ezechiel (xvii, 12): "Know you not what these things *mean*." Secondly—Although the words *mean* or *signify* are not found in the Hebrew or Syro-Chaldaic, still the word *is* must not

(18) St. Joan. Daneas, *l.* 4, Orthodox, *c.* 14.

always be taken for it, only in case that the context should show that such is the intention of the speaker; but in this case the word has surely its own signification, as we learn, especially from the Greek version; this language has both words, and still the Greek text says, "This *is* my body," and not "This *means* my body."

13.—The opinion of those sectarians, who say that in the Eucharist only a figure exists, and not the body of Christ in reality, is also refuted by these words of our Lord, already quoted: "This is my body, which shall be delivered up for you" (I. Cor. xi, 24); for Jesus Christ delivered up his body to death, and not the figure of his body. And, speaking of his sacred blood, he says (St. Matt. xxvi, 28): "For this is my blood of the New Testament, which shall be shed for many unto remission of sins." Christ, then, shed his real blood, and not the figure of his blood; for the figure is expressed by speech, or writing, or painting, but the figure is not shed. Piceninus (19) objects that St. Augustin, speaking of that passage of St. John, "Unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man," says that the flesh of our Lord is a figure, bringing to our mind the memory of his passion: "Figura est præcipiens Passione Dominica esse communicandum." We answer, that we do not deny that our Redeemer instituted the Holy Eucharist, in memory of his death, as we learn from St. Paul (I. Cor. xi, 26): "For as often as you shall eat this bread, and drink this chalice, you shall show the death of the Lord until he come;" but still we assert, that in the Eucharist there is the true body of Christ, and there is, at the same time, a figure, commemorative of his death; and this is St. Augustin's meaning, for he never doubted that the body and blood of Christ were in the Eucharist really and truly, as he elsewhere expresses it (20): "Panis quem videtis in Altari, sanctificatus per verbum Dei, Corpus est Christi."

14.—There is, I should say, no necessity of refuting Calvin's opinions on the Real Presence, for he constantly refutes himself, changing his opinion a thousand times, and always cloaking it in ambiguous terms. Bossuet and Du Hamel (21) may be consulted

(19) St. Aug. *l.* 3, de Doct. Christian. *c.* 16.
(20) St. Aug. Ser. 83, de Div. *n.* 27.
(21) Bossuet, His. des Variat. *t.* 2, *l.* 9; Du Hamel, Theol. de Euch.

on this point. They treat the subject extensively, and quote Calvin's opinion, who says, at one time, that the true substance of the body of Christ is in the Eucharist, and then again (22), that Christ is united to us by Faith; so that, by the presence of Christ, he understands a presence of power or virtue in the Sacrament; and this is confirmed by him in another part of his works, where he says that Christ is just as much present to us in the Eucharist as he is in Baptism. At one time, he says the Sacrament of the Altar is a miracle, and then again (23), the whole miracle, he says, consists in this, that the Faithful are vivified by the flesh of Christ, since a virtue so powerful descends from heaven on earth. Again, he says that even the unworthy receive in the Supper the body of Christ, and then, in another place (24), he says that he is received by the elect alone. In fine, we see Calvin struggling, in the explanation of this dogma, not to appear a heretic with the Zuinglians, nor a Catholic with the Roman Catholics. Here is the Profession of Faith which the Calvinist Ministers presented to the Prelates, at the Conference of Poissy, as Bossuet gives it (25): "We believe that the body and blood are really united to the bread and wine, but in a sacramental manner—that is, not according to the natural position of bodies, but inasmuch as they signify that God gives his body and blood to those who truly receive him by Faith." It was remarkable in that Conference, that Theodore Beza, the first disciple of Calvin, and who had hardly time to have imbibed all his errors, said publicly, as De Thou (26) relates, "that Jesus Christ was as far from the Supper as the heavens were from the earth." The French Prelates then drew up a true Confession of Faith, totally opposed to the Calvinists: "We believe," said they, "that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is really and transubstantially the true body and blood of Jesus Christ, under the appearance of bread and wine, by the power of the Divine Word pronounced by the Priest," &c.

(22) Calvin, Inst. *l.* 4, *c.* 11.
(23) Idem.
(24) Idem
(25) Bossuet, *t.* 2, *l.* 9.
(26) Thuan. *l.* 28, *c.* 48.

OBJECTIONS AGAINST THE REAL PRESENCE ANSWERED.

15.—They object, first, the words of Christ: "It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing. These words that I have spoken to you are spirit and life" (John, vi, 64). See there, they say, the words which you make use of to prove the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist are figurative expressions, which signify the celestial food of life, which we receive by Faith. We answer, with St. John Chrysostom (1), that when Christ says the flesh profiteth nothing, he spoke not of his own flesh, God forbid! but of those who carnally receive it, as the Apostle says: "The sensual man perceiveth not those things that are of the Spirit of God" (I. Cor. ii, 14), and those who carnally speak of the Divine Mysteries, and to this St. John refers when he says: "The words I have spoken to you are spirit and life" (John, vi, 64), meaning that these words refer not to carnal and perishable things, but to spiritual things and to eternal life. But even supposing these words to refer to the flesh of Christ itself, they only mean, as St. Athanasius and St. Augustin explain them, that the flesh of Christ, given to us as food, sanctifies us by the Spirit, or the Divinity united to it, but that the flesh alone would be of no avail. These are St. Augustin's words (2): "Non prodest quidquam (Caro), sed quomodo; illi intellexerunt, carnem quippe sic intellexerunt, quomodo in cadavere dilaniatur, aut in macello venditur, non quomodo spiritu vegetatur. Caro non prodest quidquam, sed sola caro; accedat spiritus ad carnem, et prodest plurimum."

16.—They object, secondly, that when Jesus Christ said: "This is my body," the word *this* in the sentence has reference to the bread alone, which he then held in his hand, but bread is only a figure of the body of Christ, but not the body itself. We answer that if we do not consider the proposition "This is my body" as complete in itself, that might be the case if he said, for example, *this is*, and did not say any more, then the word *this* would have reference to the bread alone, which he held in his

(1) St. John Chrysos. Hom. in Joan. (2) St. Aug. Tract 27 in Joan.

hand; but taking the whole sentence together, there can be no doubt but that the word *this* refers to the body of Christ. When our Lord changed water into wine, if he had said, *this is wine*, every one would understand that the word *this* referred not to the water but to the wine, and in the same way in the Eucharist the word *this*, in the complete sense of the sentence, refers to the body, because the change is made when the whole sentence is completed. In fact the word *this* in the sentence has no meaning at all, till the latter part is pronounced, *is my body* —then alone the sense is complete.

17.—They object, thirdly, that the sentence, "This is my body" is just as figurative as other passages in the Scriptures, as for example, when Christ says: "I am the true vine," "I am the gate," or when it is said that he is the Rock. We reply that it is a matter of course that these propositions should be taken figuratively, for that Christ should be literally a vine, a door, or a rock is repugnant to common sense, and the words "I am," therefore, are figurative. In the words of consecration, however, there is nothing repugnant to reason in joining the predicate with the subject, because, as we have remarked already, Christ did not say this bread is my body, but "This is my body;" *this*, that is what is contained under the appearance of this bread is my body; here there is nothing repugnant to reason.

18.—They object, fourthly, that the Real Presence is opposed to the words of Christ himself, for he said (John xii, 8): "The poor you have always with you, but me you have not always." Our Saviour, therefore, after his ascension, is no longer on earth. Our Lord, we reply, then spoke of his visible presence as man receiving honour from Magdalen. When Judas, therefore, murmured against the waste of the ointment, our Lord reproves him, saying, you have not me always with you, that is, in the visible and natural form of man, but there is here nothing to prove that after his ascension into heaven he does not remain on earth in the Eucharist, under the appearance of bread and wine, invisibly, and in a supernatural manner. In this sense we must understand also, all similar passages, as, "I leave the world and go to my Father" (John, xvi, 18): "He was taken up into heaven, and sits at the right hand of God" (Mark, xvi, 19).

19.—They object, fifthly, these words of the Apostle: "Our

fathers were all under the cloud.....and did all eat the same spiritual food" (I. Cor. x, 1—3); therefore, they say, we only receive Christ in the Eucharist by Faith, just as the Hebrews received him. We answer, that the sense of the words is, that the Hebrews received spiritual food, the Manna, of which St. Paul speaks, the figure of the Eucharist, but did not receive the body of Christ in reality, as we receive it. The Hebrews received the figure, but we receive the real body, already prefigured.

20.—Sixthly, they object that Christ said: "I will not drink from henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I shall drink it with you new, in the kingdom of my Father" (Matt. xxvi, 29), and these words he expressed, after having previously said, "This is my blood of the New Testament, which shall be shed for many for the remission of sins" (*ver.* 28). Now, say they, take notice of the words, *fruit of the vine*, that is a proof that the wine remains after the consecration. We answer, first, that Christ might have called it wine, even after the consecration, not because the substance, but because the form of wine was retained, just as St. Paul calls the Eucharist bread after the consecration: "Whosoever shall eat this bread, or drink the chalice of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and the blood of the Lord" (*ver.* 29). Secondly, we reply, with St. Fulgentius (3), who supposes that Christ took two chalices, one the Paschal chalice, according to the Jewish Rite, the other according to the Sacramental Rite. Our Lord then, he says, when using the words they found the objection on, spoke of the first chalice, and not of the second, and that he did so is clear from the words of another of the Evangelists, St. Luke (xxii, 17), who says that "having taken the chalice, he gave thanks, and said: Take and divide it among you. For I say to you that I will not drink of the fruit of the vine, till the kingdom of God come." Now, if we read on to the 20th verse of the same chapter, we find that Jesus took the chalice of wine and consecrated it: "In like manner the chalice also, after he had supped, saying: This is the chalice, the New Testament, in my blood which shall be shed for you." Hence it is manifest that the words, "I will not

(3) St. Fulgen. ad Ferraud. Dial. de Zuing. quæst. ix, 5

drink of the fruit of the vine," were expressed by our Redeemer previous to the consecration of the chalice.

21.—They object, seventhly, that the doctrine of the Real Presence cannot be true, for it is opposed to all our senses. But to this we reply, with the Apostle, that matters of faith are not manifest to the senses, for "Faith.....is the evidence of things that appear not" (Heb. xi, 1). And we have another text, also, which disposes of this feeble argument: "The sensual man perceiveth not the things that are of the Spirit of God, for it is foolishness to him" (I. Cor. ii, 14). All this will be answered more extensively farther on (*sec.* 3).

§ II.

OF TRANSUBSTANTIATION, THAT IS, THE CONVERSION OF THE SUBSTANCE OF THE BREAD AND OF THE WINE INTO THE SUBSTANCE OF THE BODY AND BLOOD OF JESUS CHRIST.

22.—Luther at first left it as a matter of choice to each person, either to believe in Transubstantiation or not, but he changed his opinion afterwards, and in 1522, in the book which he wrote against Henry VIII., he says: "I now wish to transubstantiate my own opinion. I thought it better before to say nothing about the belief in Transubstantiation, but now I declare, that if any one holds this doctrine, he is an impious blasphemer" (1), and he concludes by saying, that in the Eucharist, along with the body and blood of Christ, remains the substance of the bread and wine: "that the body of Christ is in the bread, with the bread, and under the bread, just as fire is in a red-hot iron." He, therefore, called the Real Presence "Impanation," or "Consubstantiation," that is, the association of the substance of bread and wine with the substance of the body and blood of Jesus Christ.

23.—The Council of Trent, however, teaches, that the whole substance of the bread and wine is changed into the body and

(1) Luther, lib. con. Reg. Angliæ.

blood of Christ. It issued a Decree to that effect (*Cap.* 4, *Sess.* xiii), and says, that the Church most aptly calls this change Transubstantiation. Here are the words of the Second Can.: "Si quis dixerit in sacrosancto Eucaristiæ Sacramento remanere substantiam panis et vini una cum corpore et sanguine D. N. J. C., negaveritque mirabilem illam, et singularem conversionem totius substantiæ panis in corpus, et totius substantiæ vini in sanguinem, manentibus dumtaxat speciebus panis et vini, quam quidem conversionem Catholica Ecclesia aptissime Transubstantiationem appellat, anathema sit." Remark the words, *mirabilem illum, et singularem conversionem totius substantiæ*, the wonderful and singular conversion of the whole substance. It is called *wonderful*, for it is a mystery hidden from us, and which we never can comprehend. It is *singular*, because in all nature there is not another case of a similar change; and it is called a *conversion*, because it is not a simple union with the body of Christ, such as was the hypostatic union by which the Divine and human Natures were united in the sole person of Christ. Such is not the case, then, in the Eucharist, for the substance of the bread and wine is not united with, but is totally changed and converted into, the body and blood of Jesus Christ. We say a conversion of the *whole substance*, to distinguish it from other conversions or changes, such as the change of food into the body of the person who partakes of it, or the change of water into wine by our Redeemer at Cana, and the change of the rod of Moses into a serpent, for in all these changes the substance remained, and it was the form alone that was changed; but in the Eucharist the matter and form of the bread and wine is changed, and the species alone remain, that is, the appearance alone, as the council explains it, "remanentibus dumtaxat speciebus panis et vini."

24.—The general opinion is, that this conversion is not performed by the creation of the body of Christ, for creation is the production of a thing out of nothing; but this is the conversion of the substance of the bread into the substance of the body of Christ. It does not take place either by the annihilation of the matter of the bread and wine, because annihilation means the total destruction of a thing, and the body of Christ, then, would

be changed, we may say, from nothing; but in the Eucharist the substance of the bread passes into the substance of Christ, so that it is not from nothing. Neither does it take place by the transmutation of the form alone (as a certain author endeavours to prove), the same matter still remaining, as happened when the water was changed into wine, and the rod into a serpent. Scotus says that Transubstantiation is an act adducing the body of Christ into the Eucharist (*actio adductiva*); but this opinion is not followed by others, for adduction does not mean conversion by the passage of one substance into the other. It cannot be called, either, a unitive action, for that supposes two extremes in the point of union. Hence, we say, with St. Thomas, that the consecration operates in such a manner, that if the body of Christ was not in heaven, it would commence to exist in the Eucharist. The consecration really, and *in instanti*, as the same Doctor says (2), reproduces the body of Christ under the present species of bread, for as this is a sacramental action, it is requisite that there should be an external sign, in which the rationale of a Sacrament consists.

25.—The Council of Trent has declared (*Sess.* xiii, *cap.* 3), that *vi verborum* the body of Christ alone is under the appearance of bread, and the blood alone under the appearance of wine; that by natural and proximate concomitance the soul of our Saviour is under both species, with his body and his blood; by supernatural and remote concomitance the Divinity of the Word is present, by the hypostatic union of the Word with the body and soul of Christ; and that the Father and the Holy Ghost are present, by the identity of the essence of the Father and the Holy Ghost with the Word. Here are the words of the Council: "Semper hæc fides in Ecclesia Dei fuit, statim post consecrationem verum Domini nostri corpus, vetumque ejus sanguinem sub panis, et vini specie, una cum ipsius anima, et Divinitate existere; sed corpus quidem sub specie panis, et sanguinem sub vini specie ex vi verborum; ipsum autem corpus sub specie vini, et sanguinem sub specie panis, animamque sub utraque vi naturalis illius connexionis, et concomitantiæ, qua partes Christi Domini, qui

(2) St. Thom. *p.* 3, *qu.* 75, *art.* 7.

jam ex mortuis resurrexit, non amplius moriturus, inter se copulantur: Divinitatem porro propter admirabilem illam ejus cum corpore, et anima hypostaticam unionem."

26.—Transubstantiation is proved by the very words of Christ himself: "This is my body." The word *this*, according to the Lutherans themselves, proves that Christ's body was really present. If the body of Christ was there, therefore the substance of the bread was not there; for if the bread was there, and if by the word *this* our Lord meant the bread, the proposition would be false, taking it in this sense, This is my body, that is, this bread is my body, for it is not true that the bread was the body of Christ. But perhaps they will then say, before our Lord expressed the word *body*, what did the word *this* refer to? We answer, as we have done already, that it does not refer either to the bread or to the body, but has its own natural meaning, which is this: This which is contained under the appearance of bread is not bread, but is my body. St. Cyril of Jerusalem says (3): "Aquam aliquando *(Christus)* mutavit in vinum in Cana Galilææ sola voluntate, et non erit dignus cui credamus, quod vinum in sanguinem transmutasset." St. Gregory of Nyssa (4) says: "Panis statim per verbum transmutatur, sicut dictum est a Verbo: *Hoc est corpus meum.*" St. Ambrose writes thus (5): "Quantis utimur exemplis, ut probemus non hoc esse quod natura formavit, sed quod benedictio consecravit; majoremque vim esse benedictionis, quam naturæ, quia benedictione etiam natura ipsa mutatur." St. John of Damascus (6): "Panis, ac vinum et aqua per Sancti Spiritus invocationem, et adventum mirabili modo in Christi corpus et sanguinem vertuntur." Tertullian, St. Chrysostom, and St. Hilary use the same language (7).

27.—Transubstantiation is also proved by the authority of Councils, and especially, first, by the Roman Council, under Gregory VII., in which Berengarius made his profession of Faith, and said: "Panem et vinum, quæ ponuntur in Altari, in veram

(3) St. Cyril, Hieros. Cath. Mystagog.
(4) St. Greg. Nyssa. Orat. Cath. *c.* 37.
(5) St. Ambrose de Initiand. *c.* 9.
(6) St. Jo. Damas. *l.* 4, Orthod. Fidei. *c.* 14.
(7) Tertul. contra Marcion. *l.* 4, *c.* 4; Chrysos. Hom. 4, in una cor. St. Hil. *l.* 8, de Trinit.

et propriam ac vivificatricem carnem et sanguinem Jesu Christi substantialiter converti per verba consecratoria." Secondly—By the Fourth Council of Lateran (*cap.* 1), which says: "Idem ipse Sacerdos et Sacrificium Jesus Christus, cumcorpus et sanguis in Sacramento Altaris sub speciebus panis et vini veraciter continetur, transubstantiatis pane in corpus, et vino in sanguinem potestate Divina," &c. Thirdly—By the Council of Trent (*Sess.* xiii, *can.* 2), which condemns all who deny this doctrine: "Mirabilem illam conversionem totius substantiæ panis in corpus, et vini in sanguinem.....quam conversionem Catholica Ecclesia aptissime Transubstantionem appellat."

OBJECTIONS AGAINST TRANSUBSTANTIATION ANSWERED.

28.—The Lutherans say, first, that the body of Christ is *locally* in the bread as in a vessel, and, as we say, showing a bottle in which wine is contained, "This is the wine," so, say they, Christ, showing the bread, said: "This is my body;" and hence, both the body of Christ and the bread are, at the same time, present in the Eucharist. We answer, that, according to the common mode of speech, a bottle is a fit and proper thing to show that wine is there, because wine is usually kept in bottles, but it is not the case with bread, which is not a fit and proper thing to designate or point out a human body, for it is only by a miracle that a human body could be contained in bread.

29.—Just to confound one heresy by another, we will quote the argument of the Zuinglians (1) against the Impanation or Consubstantiation of the bread and the body of Christ, invented by the Lutherans. If, say they, the words "This is my body" are to be taken in a literal sense, as Luther says they are, then the Transubstantiation of the Catholics is true. And this is certainly the case. Christ did not say, this bread is my body, or here is my body, but *this* thing is my body. Hence, say they, when Luther rejects the figurative meaning, that it is only the signification of the body of Christ, as they hold, and wishes to

(1) Bossuet. Variat. *t.* 1, *l.* 2, *n.* 31; Ospinian. ann. 1527, *p.* 49.

explain the words "this is my body" after his own fashion, that is, this bread is really my body, and not the frame of my body, this doctrine falls to the ground of itself, for if our Saviour intended to teach us that the bread was his body, and that the bread was there still, it would be a contradiction in itself. The true sense of the words "This is my body," however, is that the word *this* is to be thus understood: this, which I hold in my hands is my body. Hence the Zuinglians concluded that the conversion of the substance of the bread into the substance of the body of Christ should be taken either totally figuratively or totally in substance, and this was Beza's opinion in the Conference of Monbeliard, held with the Lutherans. Here, then, is, according to the true dogma, the conclusion we should come to in opposition to Luther. When our Lord says, "This is my body," he intended that of that bread should be formed either the substance, or the figure of his body; if the substance of the bread, therefore, be not the mere simple figure of Christ's body, as Luther says, then it must become the whole substance of the body of Jesus Christ.

30.—They object, secondly, that in the Scripture the Eucharist is called bread, even after the consecration: "One body....who all partake of one bread" (I. Cor. x, 17); "Whosoever shall eat this bread, or drink the Chalice of the Lord unworthily" &c. (I. Cor. xi, 27); the bread, therefore, remains. Such, however, is not the case; it is called bread, not because it retains the substance of bread, but because the body of Christ is made from the bread. In the Scriptures we find that those things which are miraculously changed into other things are still called by the name of the thing from which they were changed, as the water which was changed into wine, by St. John, at the marriage of Cana in Galilee was still called water, even after the change: "When the Chief Steward had tasted the water made wine" (John, ii, 9); and in Exodus also we read that the rod of Moses changed into a serpent was still called a rod: "Aaron's rod devoured their rods" (Exod. vii, 12). In like manner, then, the Eucharist is called bread after the consecration, because it was bread before, and still retains the appearance of bread. Besides, as the Eucharist is the food of the soul, it may be justly called bread, as the Manna made by the angels is called bread, that is, spiritual bread:

"Man eat the bread of angels" (Psalms, lxxvii, 25). The sectarians, however, say, the body of Christ cannot be broken, it is the bread alone that is broken, and still St. Paul says: "And the bread which we break is it not the partaking of the body of the Lord?" (I. Cor. x, 16). We answer, that the breaking is understood to refer to the species of the bread which remain, but not to the body of the Lord, which, being present in a sacramental manner, cannot be either broken or injured.

31.—They object, thirdly, that Christ says, in St. John: "I am the bread of life" (John, vi, 48); still he was not changed into bread. The very text, however, answers the objection itself. Our Lord says: "I am the bread of life:" now the word "life" shows that the expression must be taken not in a natural but a metaphorical sense. The words "This is my body" must, however, be taken in quite another way; in order that this proposition should be true, it was necessary that the bread should be changed into the body of Christ, and this is Transubstantiation, which is an article of our Faith, and which consists in the conversion of the substance of the bread into the substance of the body of Christ, so that in the very instant in which the words of consecration are concluded, the bread has no longer the substance of bread, but under its species exists the body of the Lord. The conversion, then, has two terms, in one of which it ceases to be, and in the other commences to be, for otherwise, if the bread was first annihilated, and the body then produced, it would not be a true conversion or Transubstantiation. It is of no consequence to say that the word Transubstantiation is new, and not found in the Scriptures, when the thing signified, that is, the Eucharist, really exists. The Church has always adopted new expressions, to explain more clearly the truths of the Faith when attacked by heretics, as she adopted the word Consubstantial to combat the heresy of Arius.

§ III.

OF THE MANNER IN WHICH JESUS CHRIST IS IN THE EUCHARIST. THE PHILOSOPHICAL OBJECTIONS OF THE SACRAMENTARIANS ANSWERED.

32.—Before we reply in detail to the philosophical objections of the Sacramentarians relative to the manner in which the body of Jesus Christ is in the Sacrament, we should reflect that the Holy Fathers in matters of faith do not depend on philosophical principles, but on the authority of the Scriptures and the Church, knowing well that God can do many things which our weak reason cannot comprehend. We never will be able to understand the secrets of nature in created things; how, then, can we comprehend how far the power of the Almighty, the Creator of nature, itself, extends? We now come to their objections. First, they say that, although God is omnipotent, he cannot do anything which is repugnant in itself, but it is repugnant, they say, that Christ should be in heaven and on earth, at the same time, really and truly, as he is according to our belief, and not alone in one, but in many places, at the same time. Hear what the Council of Trent says on this subject (*Sess.* xiii, *c.* 1): "Nec enim hæc inter se pugnant, ut ipse Salvator noster semper ad dexteram Patris in cælis assideat, juxta modum existendi naturalem; et ut multis nihilominus aliis in locis sacramentaliter præsens sua substantia nobis adsit, ex existendi ratione; quam etsi verbis exprimere vix possumus, possibilem tamen esse Deo, cogitatione per fidem illustrata, assequi possumus, et constantissime credere debemus." The Council, therefore, teaches, that the body of Jesus Christ is in heaven in a natural manner, but that it is on earth in a sacramental or supernatural manner, which our limited understanding cannot comprehend, no more than we can understand how the three Divine Persons in the Trinity are the same essence, or how, in the Incarnation of the Word in Jesus Christ there is but one Divine Person and two Natures, the Divine and human.

33.—It is impossible, they say also, for a human body to be in several places at once. We believe, however, that the body of

Christ is not multiplied in the Eucharist, for our Lord is not there present *definitively*, or circumscribed to that place and to no other, but sacramentally, under the appearance of bread and wine, so that wherever the species of the consecrated bread and wine are, there Jesus Christ is present. The multiplicity of the presence of Christ, therefore, does not proceed from the multiplication of his body in many places, but from the multiplicity of the consecrations of the bread and wine, performed by the priests in different places. But how is it possible, say they, that the body of Christ can be in several places at once, unless it is multiplied? We answer, that before our adversaries can prove this to be impossible, they should have a perfect knowledge of place and of glorified bodies; they should know distinctly what place is, and what existence glorified bodies have. When such knowledge, however, surpasses our weak understandings, who shall have the hardihood to deny, that the body of our Lord can be in several places at once, since God has revealed in the Holy Scriptures that Jesus Christ really exists in every consecrated Host? But, they reply, we cannot understand this. We answer again, that the Eucharist is a mystery of Faith, since our understanding cannot comprehend it, and as we never can do so, it is rashness to say that it cannot be, when God has revealed it, and when we know we cannot decide by reason what is beyond the power of reason.

34.—They assert, besides, that it is repugnant to reason to say that the body of Jesus Christ exists under the species, without extension or quantity, for both extension and quantity are essential qualities of bodies, and God himself cannot deprive things of their essences, therefore, say they, the body of Christ cannot exist without filling a space corresponding to its quantity, and, therefore, it cannot be in a small Host, and in every particle of the Host, as Catholics believe. We reply to this, that although God cannot deprive things of their essence, still he can deprive them of the property of their essence; he cannot take away from fire the essence of fire, but he can deprive fire of the essential quality of burning, as he did in the case of Daniel and his companions, who were unharmed in the furnace. Thus, in like manner, though God cannot make a body to exist without extension and quantity, still he can make it, so

that it will not occupy space, and that it will be entire in every part of the sensible species which contain it as a substance; the body of Christ, therefore, into which the substance of the bread is changed, does not occupy place, and is whole and entire in every part of the species. Here is how St. Thomas explains it (1): "Tota substantia corporis Christi continetur in hoc Sacramento post consecrationem, sicut ante consecrationem continebatur ibi tota substantia panis. Propria autem totalitas substantiæ continetur indifferenter in pauca vel magna quantitate, unde et tota substantia corporis et sanguinis Christi continetur in hoc Sacramento."

35.—That being the case, it is not the fact that the body of Christ in the Eucharist exists without quantity; the whole quantity is there, but in a supernatural, not a natural manner. It does not exist, then, *circumscriptive*, that is, according to the measure of the proper quantity corresponding to the quantity of space; but it exists *sacramentaliter*—sacramentally, after the manner of a substance. Hence it is that Jesus Christ, in the Sacrament, does not exercise any action dependent on the senses; and although he exercises the acts of the intellect and of the will, he does not exercise the corporal acts of the sensitive life, which require a certain sensible and external extension in the organs of the body.

36.—Neither is it true that Jesus Christ exists in the Sacrament without extension. His body is there, and it has extension; but this extension is not external, or sensible and local, but internal, *in ordine ad se*, so that although all the parts are in the same place, still one part is not confused with the other. Thus Jesus Christ exists in the Sacrament with internal extension; but as to external and local extension, he is inextended, and indivisible, and whole, and entire, in each particle of the Host, as a substance, as has been already said, without occupying space. Hence it is, that as the body of our Lord does not occupy space, it cannot be moved from one place to another, but is moved only *per accidens*, when the species are moved under which it is contained, just as happens to ourselves, that when our bodies are moved from one place to another, our souls are also moved, *per*

(1) St. Thom. *p.* 3, *q.* 76, *a.* 1.

accidens, though the soul is incapable of occupying any space. In fine, the Eucharist is a Sacrament of Faith, *misterium Fidei*, and as we cannot comprehend all the matters of faith, so we should not pretend to understand all that faith, through the Church, teaches us concerning this Sacrament.

37.—But how, say they, can the accidents of bread and wine exist without their substance, or *subject*, as it is called? We answer—the question whether accidents are distinct from matter has been already mooted; the most general opinion is in the affirmative; the Councils of Lateran, Florence, and Trent, however, keeping clear of the controversy altogether, call the accidents species. In the ordinary course of things these accidents, or species, cannot exist without the subject, but they can in a supernatural and extraordinary manner. In the ordinary course of things, humanity cannot exist without its proper subsistence (*subsistentia*); but, notwithstanding, faith teaches us that the humanity of Christ had not human, but Divine subsistence, that is, the Person of the Word. As the humanity of Christ, therefore, united to the Word hypostatically, subsists without the human person, so, in the Eucharist, the species can exist without the subject, that is, without the substance of bread, because their substance is changed into the body of Christ. These species, therefore, have nothing of reality, but by Divine power they represent their former subject, and appear still to retain the substance of bread and wine, and may even become corrupted, and worms may be generated in them, but, then, it is from a new matter, created by the Almighty, that these worms spring, and Jesus Christ is no longer present, as St. Thomas teaches (2). As far as the sensations of our organs go, the body of Christ in the Eucharist is neither seen or touched by us immediately in itself, but only through the medium of those species under which it is contained, and it is thus we should understand the words of St. John Chrysostom (3): "Ecce cum vides, Ipsum tangis, Ipsum manducas."

38.—It is, then, an article of faith, that Jesus Christ is permanently in the Eucharist, and not alone in the use of the communion, as the Lutherans say, and this is the doctrine of the

(2) St. Thom. 3 *p. qu.* 76, *a.* 5, *ad.* 3.

(3) St. Chrysost. Hom. 60, ad Pap.

Council of Trent, which also assigns the reason: "In Eucharistia ipse auctor ante usum est, nondum enim Eucharistiam de manu Domini Apostoli susceperant, cum vere tamen ipse affirmavet corpus suum esse, quod prebebat" (*Sess.* xiii, *cap.* 3). And as Jesus Christ is present before the use of the Sacrament, so he is also present after it, as the Fourth Canon expresses it: "Si quis dixerit.....in Hostiis, seu particulis consecratis, quæ post communionem reservantur, vel supersunt, non remanere verum corpus Domini; anathema sit."

39.—This is proved, not alone by reason and authority, but by the ancient practice of the Church, likewise; for in the early ages, on account of the persecution, the Holy Communion was given in private houses and in caverns, as Tertullian testifies (4): "Non sciet Maritus, quid secreto ante omnem cibum gustes: et si sciverit panem, non illum esse credat, qui dicitur." St. Cyprian (5) tells us, that in his time the faithful used to bring home the Eucharist to their houses, to communicate at the proper time. St. Basil (6), writing to the Patrician Cesaria, exhorts her, that as she could not, on account of the persecution, attend the public communion, she should carry it along with her, to communicate in case of danger. St. Justin, Martyr (7), mentions that the Deacons used to carry the communion to the absent. St. Iræneus (8) laments to Pope Victor, that having omitted to celebrate the Pasch, he deprived several Priests of the communion on that account, who could not come to the public meetings, and he therefore sent the Eucharist in sign of peace to those who were prevented from attending: "Cum tamen qui te præcesserunt, Presbyteris, quamvis id minime observarent, Eucharistiam transmiserunt." St. Gregory of Nazianzan (9) relates that her sister Orgonia, standing with great faith nigh to the Sacrament, which was concealed, was freed from a disease under which she was labouring; and St. Ambrose (10) tells us that St. Satirus, having the Eucharist suspended round his neck, escaped shipwreck.

40.—Father Agnus Cirillo, in his work entitled "Ragguagli

(4) Tertul. *l.* 2, ad Uxor. *c.* 5.
(5) St. Cypri. Tract. de Lapsis.
(6) St. Basil, Ep. 289 ad Cesar. Patriciam.
(7) St. Justin. Apol. 2, *p.* 97.
(8) St. Iren. Ep. ad Vic. Pon.
(9) St. Greg. Nazian. Orat. 11.
(10) St. Ambr. Orat. de obitu fratris Satyri.

Teologici" (*p.* 353), adduces several other examples to the same effect, and proves that an anonymous author, who lately taught that it was not lawful to give communion with particles previously consecrated, and preserved in the tabernacle, is totally wrong. The learned Mabillon (11) shows that the practice of giving communion when Mass was not celebrated had its origin in the Church of Jerusalem, and existed in the days of St. Cyril, as it was not possible to say Mass each time that the numerous pilgrims frequenting the Holy City required communion. From the Eastern this custom was introduced into the Western Church, and Gregory XIII., in 1584, laid down in his Ritual the mode to be observed by the Priest in the administration of the holy communion, when Mass was not said. This Ritual was confirmed, subsequently, by Paul V., in 1614, and in the chapter *de Sac. Eucharis.*, it is ordered that, "Sacerdos curare debet, ut perpetuo aliquot particulæ consecratæ eo numero, quæ usui infirmorum, *et aliorum* (mark this) *Fidelium* communioni satis esse possint, conserventur in pixide." Benedict XIV., in his Encyclical Letter of the 12th November, 1742, approves of giving communion when Mass is not celebrated: "De eodem Sacrificio participant, præter eos quibus a Sacerdote celebrante tribuitur in ipsa Missa portio Victimæ a se oblatæ, ii etiam quibus Sacerdos Eucharistiam præservari solitam ministrat."

41.—We may as well remark here, that a certain Decree of the Congregation of Rites, dated 2nd September, 1741, was circulated, by which it was prohibited to give communion to the people at the Masses for the dead, with pre-consecrated particles, and taking the pixis from the tabernacle, because the usual benediction cannot be given in black vestments to those who communicate; but Father Cirillo (*p.* 368) says that this Decree is not obligatory, as it was not sanctioned by the reigning Pope, Benedict XIV. There is, certainly, one very strong argument in his favour, and it is this, that Benedict, while Archbishop of Bologna, in his work on the Sacrifice of the Mass, approved of the opinion of the learned Merati, that communion might be given, at the Masses for the dead, with pre-consecrated particles, and when he was afterwards Pope, and re-composed the same

(11) Mabill. Liturg. Gallic. *l.* 2, *c.* 9, *n.* 26.

treatise on the Sacrifice of the Mass, he never thought of retracting his opinion, which he would have done had he considered the Decree we mentioned valid, and he would have given it his approbation, as published during his Pontificate. Father Cirillo adds, that one of the Consultors of the Congregation told him that, although the Decree was drawn up, yet several of the Consultors refused to sign it, and thus it was held in abeyance, and never published.

42.—To come back to the sectaries who deny the Real Presence of Jesus Christ, unless in the use alone, I know not how they can answer the First Council of Nice, which ordains (*Can.* 13), that communion should be administered to the dying at all times, and it would be impossible to do that if the Eucharist was not preserved. The Fourth Council of Lateran expressly ordains the same thing (*Can.* 20): "Statuimus quod in singulis Ecclesiis Chrisma, et Eucharistia sub fideli custodia conserventur;" and this was confirmed by the Council of Trent (*Sess.* xiii, *c.* 6). From the earliest ages the Greeks preserved the Eucharist in silver ciboriums, made in the form of a dove, or of a little tower, and suspended over the altar, as is proved from the life of St. Basil, and the Testament of Perpetuus, Bishop of Durs (12).

43.—Our adversaries object that Nicephorus (13) relates, that in the Greek Church it was the custom to give the children the fragments that remained after communion; therefore, they say, the Eucharist was not preserved. We answer, that this was not done every day, only on Wednesdays and Fridays, when the pixis was purified; and it was, therefore, preserved on the other days, and, besides, particles were always preserved for the sick. They object, besides, that the words, "This is my body," were not pronounced by Christ before the manducation, but after it, as appears from St. Matthew (xxvi, 26): "Jesus took bread, and blessed, and broke; and gave to his disciples, and said: Take ye, and eat: This is my body." We answer, with Bellarmin, that in this text the order of the words is not to be regarded, for the order is different with each of the Evangelists. St. Mark, speaking of the consecration of the chalice, says (xiv, 23, 24): "Having taken the chalice.....they all drank of it. And he

(12) Tournelly, *t.* 2, de Euch. *p.* 165, *n.* 5.

(13) Niceph. Histor. *l.* 17, *c.* 25.

said to them: This is my blood." Now, it would appear from this, also, that the words, "This is my blood," were said after the *sumption* of the chalice; but the context of all the Evangelists show that both "This is my body," and "This is my blood," was said by our Lord before he gave them the species of bread and wine.

§ IV.

THE MATTER AND FORM OF THE SACRAMENT OF THE EUCHARIST.

44.—As to the matter of the Eucharist, there is no doubt but that we should use that alone which was used by Jesus Christ—that is, bread of wheat, and wine of the vine, as we learn from St. Matthew (xxv, 26), St. Mark (xiv, 12), St. Luke (xxii, 19), and St. Paul (1. Cor. xi, 27). This is what the Catholic Church has always done, and condemned those who dared to make use of any other matter, as is proved in the Third Council of Carthage (*c.* 27), which was held in the year 397. Estius (1) says that consecration can be performed with any sort of bread—wheaten, barley, oaten, or millet; but St. Thomas (2) writes, that it is with bread of wheat alone it can be done, but still that bread made of a sort of rye, which grows from wheat sown in poor soil, is also matter for the consecration: "Et ideo si qua frumenta sunt, quæ ex semine tritici generari possunt, sicut ex grano tritici seminato malis terris nascitur siligo, ex tali frumento panis confectus potest esse materia hujus Sacramenti." He, therefore, rejected all other bread, and this is the only opinion we can follow in practice. Doctors have disputed, as we may see in the works of Mabillon, Sirmond, Cardinal Bona, and others, whether unleavened bread, such as the Latins use, or leavened bread, as used by the Greeks, is the proper matter for the Sacrament. There is not the least doubt but that the consecration is valid in either one or the other; but, at present, the Latins are prohibited from consecrating in leavened, and the

(1) Æstius, in 4, *dist.* 8, *c.* 6. (2) St. Thom. *q.* 74, *art.* 3, ad 2.

Greeks in unleavened, bread, according to a Decree of the Council of Florence, in 1429: "Definimus in azimo, sive in fermentato pane triticeo Corpus Christi veraciter confici, Sacerdotesque in alterutro ipsum Domini Corpus conficere debent, unumquenque scilicet juxta suæ Ecclesiæ Occidentalis, sive Orientalis consuetudinem." The matter of the consecration of the blood should be common wine, pressed from ripe grapes; and, therefore, the liquor expressed from unripe grapes, boiled wine, or that which has become vinegar, cannot be used. Must, however, or the unfermented juice of the grape, will answer; but it should not be used without necessity.

45.—As to the quantity of bread and wine to be consecrated, it is quite sufficient that it be apparent to the senses, be it ever so little; it must, however, be certain, and of a known quantity, and morally present. According to the intention of the Church, and as St. Thomas teaches (3), a greater number of particles should not be consecrated than is sufficient to give communion to that number of people who are expected to receive within the time that the species would keep without corrupting. From this Peter de Marca concludes (4), that it is not in the power of a Priest to consecrate all the bread in a shop, for example; the consecration in this case, he says, would be invalid, though others assert it would only be illicit. Theologians also dispute of the validity of consecration, when performed for the purposes of witchcraft, or to expose the Host to the insult of unbelievers.

46.—We now have to treat of the form of the Eucharist. Luther (5) says, that the words of Christ alone, "This is my body," are not sufficient to consecrate, but that the whole liturgy must be recited. Calvin (6) said, that the words were not necessary at all for consecration, but only to excite faith. Some Greek schismatics, Arcudius (7) informs us, said that the words, "This is," &c., being once expressed by Christ, were sufficient in themselves to consecrate all the Hosts offered up ever after.

47.—Some Catholics taught that Christ consecrated the Eucharist by his occult benediction, without any words at all, by the excellence of his power; but ordained the form, at the same

(3) St. Thom. 3, *p. q.* 73, *art.* 2.
(4) Petr. de Marca Diss. posthuma de Sacrif. Missa.
(5) Luther, *l.* de Abrog. Missa.
(6) Calvin, Inst. *l.* 4, *c.* 17, *sec.* 39.
(7) Arcud. *l.* 3, *c.* 28.

time, for man to use in consecration. This opinion was held by Durandus (8), Innocent III. (9), and especially by Catherinus (10), but as Cardinal Gotti (11) informs us, it is now not held by any one, and some even say it was branded as rashness to hold it. The true and general doctrine is, as St. Thomas teaches (12), that Jesus Christ consecrated, when he expressed the words, "This is my body, this is my blood," and that the priest, at the present day, consecrates in the same manner, expressing the same words, in the person of Christ, and this not historically *narrative*, but significantly *significative*—that is, by applying this meaning to the matter before him, as the generality of Doctors teach with St. Thomas (13).

48.—Catherinus says, also, that besides the words of our Lord, it is necessary, in order to consecrate, to add the prayers which, in the Latin Church, precede, and in the Greek, follow, the act; and the learned Oratorian, Father Le Brun (14), follows this opinion, likewise. The general opinion of theologians agreeing with St. Thomas (15), is, that Christ consecrated with the very same words as Priests do at present, and that the prayers of the Canon of the Mass are obligatory, but not necessary for consecration, so that it would be valid without them. The Council of Trent (*Sess.* xiii, *c.* 1) declares that our Saviour, "Post panis vinique benedictionem se suum ipsius corpus illis præbere, ac suum sanguinem disertis ac perspicuis verbis testatus est: quæ verba a sanctis Evangelistis commemorata, et a D. Paulo postea repetita, cum propriam illam et apertissimam significationem præ se ferant, secundum quam a Patribus intellecta sunt," &c. Were not the words, "Take and eat; this is my body," as the Evangelists inform us, clearly demonstrative that Christ gave his disciples his body to eat? It was by these words, then, and no other, that he converted the bread into his body, as St. Ambrose writes (16): "Consecratio igitur quibus verbis est, et cujus sermonibus? Domini Jesu. Nam reliqua omnia, quæ dicuntur,

(8) Durand. *l.* 4. de Div. Offic. *c.* 41, *n.* 13.
(9) Innoc. III. *l.* 4, Myst. *c.* 6.
(10) Ap. Tournelly Comp. de Euch. *qu.* 4, *a.* 6, *p.* 184.
(11) Gotti, Theol. de Euch. *qu.* 2, *sec.* 1, *n.* 2.
(12) St. Thom. 3, *p. q.* 78, *a.* 1.
(13) St. Thom. loc. cit. *a.* 5.
(14) Le Brun, *t.* 3, rer. Liturg. *p.* 212.
(15) St. Thom. 3, *p. q.* 78, *a.* 5.
(16) St. Ambrose, de Sacramen. *l.* 4, *c.* 4.

laudem Deo deferunt; oratio præmittitur pro Popolo, pro Regibus, pro ceteris; ubi venitur ut conficiatur venerabile Sacramentum, jam non suis sermonibus Sacerdos, sed utitur sermonibus Christi." St. John Chrysostom (17), speaking of the same words, says: "Hoc verbum Christi transformat ea, quæ proposita sunt." And St. John of Damascus says: "Dixit pariter Deus, *Hoc est corpus meum*, ideoque omnipotenti ejus præcepto, donec veniat, efficitur."

49.—The same Council (*Cap.* 3) says: "Et semper hæc fides in Ecclesia Dei fuit, statim post consecrationem verum Domini nostri Corpus, verumque ejus sanguinem sub panis et vini specie.....existere.....ex vi verborum." Therefore, by the power of the words—that is, the words mentioned by the Evangelists—instantly after the consecration, the bread is converted into the body, and the wine into the blood, of Jesus Christ. There is a great difference between the two sentences, "This is my body," and "We beseech thee that the body of Jesus Christ may be made for us," or, as the Greeks say, "Make this bread the body of Christ;" for the first shows that the body of Christ is present at the very moment in which the sentence is expressed, but the second is only a simple prayer, beseeching that the oblation may be made the body, not in a determinative, but a suspended and expectative sense. The Council says that the conversion of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ takes place *vi verborum*, not *vi orationum*, by the power of the words, and not by the power of the prayers. St. Justin says (18): "Eucharistiam confici per preces ab ipso Verbo Dei profectas;" and he afterwards explains that these prayers are: "This is my body;" but the prayer in the Canon was not pronounced by the Word of God himself. St. Irænens (19) says, also: "Quando mixtus calix, et factus panis percipit verbum Dei, fit Eucharistia corporis Christi." We do not find that Christ, in consecrating, used any other words but those: "This is my body, and this is my blood." Taking all this into consideration, we must decide that the opinion of Le Brun has not a sound foundation of probability.

50.—Several Fathers (say the supporters of this opinion)

(17) St. Chrisost. Hom. 1 de Prod. Judæ.
(18) St. Justin, Apol. 2.
(19) St. Iren. *l.* 5, *c.* 2.

teach that the Eucharist is consecrated both by prayer and by the words of Christ. We answer, that by the word prayer they mean the very expression "This is my body," used by Christ, as St. Justin (20) expressly states, that the prayer by which the Eucharist is consecrated is the words, "This is my body," &c. St. Iræneus had previously said the same (21), that the Divine invocation by which the Eucharist is made is the Divine word. St. Augustin (22) says that the mystic prayer (23) by which the Eucharist is made consists in the words of Christ, "This is my body," &c., as the forms of the other Sacraments are called prayers, because they are holy words which have the power of obtaining from God the effect of the Sacraments. They object to us, also, some Liturgies, as those of St. James, St. Mark, St. Clement, St. Basil, and St. John Chrysostom, which would make it appear that besides the words of Christ other prayers are requisite for consecration, as we have in the Canon: "Quæsumus .....ut nobis corpus, et sanguis fiat delectissimi Filii tui," &c. The same prayer is also used in the Greek Mass, but, as Bellarmin writes (24), when the Greeks were asked by Eugenius IV. what was the reason that they used the prayer "that this may become the body," &c., after having already expressed the words of consecration, "This is my body," &c., they answered that they added this prayer, not to confirm the consecration, but that the Sacrament might assist the salvation of the souls of those who received it.

51.—Theologians (25) say, notwithstanding, that it is not an article of Faith that Christ did consecrate with these words, and ordained that with these words alone priests should consecrate, for although this is the general opinion, and most consonant with the sentiments of the Council of Trent, still it is not anywhere declared to be an article of faith by the Canon of the Church; and although the Holy Fathers have given it the weight of their authority, they have never laid it down as a matter of faith. Salmeron mentions (loc. cit.) that the Council of Trent being entreated to explain the form with which Christ consecrated this

(20) St. Justin Apol. 2.
(21) St. Iren. *l.* 4, *c.* 24, & *l.* 3, *c.* 2.
(22) St. Aug. Serm. 28, de Verb. Do.
(23) Idem, de Trinit. *c.* 4.
(24) Bellar. *l.* 4 de Euchar. *c.* 19.
(25) Salmeron. *t.* 9, trac. 13, *p.* 88; Tournell. de Euchar. 9, 4, *a.* 6, vers. Quær.

Sacrament, the Fathers judged it better not to define anything on the subject. Tournelly (26) replies to all the objections made by those who wish to make it a matter of faith. If it is not a matter of faith, however, still, as St. Thomas teaches, it is morally certain (27), and we cannot even say that the contrary opinion is probable. The priest, then, would commit a most grievous sin, if he omitted the preceding prayers, but still his consecration would be valid. It is debated among authors, whether any other words unless these, "This is the Chalice of my blood," though the remainder is laid down in the Missal, are essentially necessary for the consecration of the blood. In our Moral Theology (28) the reader will find the point discussed. Several hold the affirmative opinion, and quote St. Thomas in their favour, who says (29): "Et ideo illa quæ sequuntur sunt essentialia sanguini, prout in hoc Sacramento consecratur, et ideo oportet, quod sint de substantia Formæ;" the opposite opinion, however, is more generally followed, and those who hold it deny that it is opposed to the doctrine of St. Thomas, for he says that the subsequent words appertain to the substance but not to the essence of the form, and hence they conclude that these words do not belong to the essence, but only to the integrity of the form, so that the priest who would omit them would commit a grievous sin undoubtedly, but still would validly consecrate.

52.—We should remark here that the Council of Trent (*Sess.* xxii), condemned in nine Canons nine errors of the Reformers concerning the Sacrifice of the Mass, as follows: First—that the Mass is not a true Sacrifice, and that it is only offered up to administer the Eucharist to the Faithful. Second—That by these words, "Do this in commemoration of me," Christ did not institute the Apostles Priests, or ordain that the Priests should offer up his body and blood. Third—That the Mass is only a thanksgiving or remembrance of the Sacrifice of the Cross, but not a propitiatory Sacrifice, or that it is useful only to those who communicate at it. Fourth—That this Sacrifice is derogatory to the Sacrifice of the Cross. Fifth—That it is an imposture to

(26) Tournell. loc. cit. *p.* 191, v. Dices. 1.
(27) St. Thom. 3 *p.* 9, 78, *a.* 1, ad 4.
(28) Liguor. Theol. Moral. *t.* 2, dub. 6 de Euch. &c.
(29) St. Thom. in 4 Dist. 8, q. 2, *ar.* 2, q. 2.

celebrate Mass in honour of the Saints, and to obtain their intercession. Sixth—That there are errors in the Canon. Seventh—That the ceremonies, vestments, and signs used in the Catholic Church are incentives to impiety. Eighth—That private Masses, in which the Priest alone communicates, are unlawful. Ninth—That the practice of saying part of the Canon in a low voice should be condemned; that it all ought to be said in the vulgar tongue, and that the mixture of water with the wine in the Chalice should also be condemned. All these errors I have refuted in my work against the Reformers.

REFUTATION XI.

ERRORS OF LUTHER AND CALVIN.

SUMMARY OF THE PRINCIPAL POINTS.

1.–Free will exists. 2.–The Divine Law is not impossible. 3.–Works are necessary. 4.–Faith alone does not justify us. 5.–Of the uncertainty of Justification, Perseverance, and eternal Salvation. 6.–God is not the Author of Sin. 7.–God predestines no one to hell. 8.–Infallibility of General Councils.

§ I.

OF FREE WILL.

1.—I have already stated in this work (1), that the errors of Luther, Calvin, and their disciples, who have added error to error, are almost innumerable; and in particular, as Prateolus remarks, in the Calvinistic heresy alone two hundred and seven errors against Faith are enumerated, and another author brings them up even to fourteen hundred. I, however, refute only the principal errors of Luther, Calvin, and the other Reformers, for the refutation of their other erroneous opinions will be found in Bellarmin, Gotti, and several other authors. One of Calvin's

(1) Cap. xi, Cent. xvi, *ar.* 3.

chief heresies was, that Adam alone had free will, but that by his sin not alone he, but all his posterity lost it, so that free will is only *titulus sine re.* This error was specially condemned by the Council of Trent (*Sess.* vi, *c.* 5): "Si quis hominis arbitrium post Adæ peccatum amissum et extinctum esse dixerit, aut rem esse de solo titulo, imo titulum sine re, figmentum denique a Satana invectum in Ecclesiam, anathema sit."

2.—Free will consists of two sorts of liberty, *Contradictionis,* by which we can either do any thing or let it alone, and *Contrarietatis,* by which we have the power of doing any thing, and also doing the opposite, as of doing what is good and doing what is bad. Man has retained both species of free will, as the Scriptures prove. First—As to the liberty of *Contradiction,* to do or not to do what is right, we have several texts to prove it. For example, in Ecclesiasticus (xv, 14—16): "God made man from the beginning, and left him in the hand of his own counsel. He added his commandments and precepts. If thou wilt keep the commandments.....for ever,.....they shall preserve thee;" "It shall depend on the will of her husband whether she shall do it or do it not" (Numb. xxx, 14); "He could have transgressed, and hath not transgressed, and could do evil things and hath not done them" (Eccles. xxxi, 10); "Whilst it remained did it not remain to thee and after it was sold was it not in thy power?" (Acts, v, 4); "The lust thereof shall be under thee, and thou shalt have dominion over it" (Gen. iv, 7). Many texts, likewise, prove the liberty of *contrariety*: "I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing" (Deut. xxx, 19); "Before man is life and death, good and evil; that which he shall choose shall be given unto him" (Eccl. xv, 18). And lest our adversaries should say that those texts apply to man only in a state of innocence, we will quote others, which speak of him without doubt after the fall: "But if it seem evil to you to serve the Lord, you have your choice; choose this day whom you would rather serve, whether the Gods," &c. (Jos. xxiv, 15); "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me" (Luke, ix, 23); "For he hath determined, being stedfast in his heart, having no necessity, but having power of his own will" (I. Cor. vii, 37); "And I gave her a time, that she might do penance, and she will not repent" (Apoc. ii, 21); "If any man

shall hear my voice, and open to me the door, I will come in to him" (Apoc. iii, 20). There are many other texts of a like nature, but these are sufficient to prove that man has preserved his free will after the fall. Luther objects that text of Isaias, (xli, 23): "Do also good or evil, if you can," but he ought to remember that in the text the Prophet is speaking not of man, but of idols, which, as David said, could do nothing: "They have mouths and speak not, they have eyes and see not" (Psalms, cxiii, 5).

3.—That being the case, it is not enough, as Luther, Calvin, and the Jansenists say, to have the liberty *coactionis*, that is, freedom from restraint, that our actions may be meritorious or otherwise. This is exactly the third Proposition of Jansenius, condemned as heretical: "Ad merendum, et demerendum in statu naturæ lapsæ non requitur in homine libertas a *necessitate*, sed sufficit libertas a *coactione*." In this manner we might say that even the beasts have free will, since, without any violence, they are carried on spontaneously (after their way) to seek the pleasures of sense. It is necessary, however, for the true liberty of man, that he should have the liberty *necessitatis*, so that he may choose whatever he pleases, as St. Paul (I. Cor. vii, 37) says, "having no necessity, but having the power of his own will," and it is this will that is required both for merit and demerit. St. Augustin, speaking of sin (2), says: "Peccatum usque adeo voluntarium (that is free, as he afterwards explains it) malum est, ut nullo modo sit peccatum si non sit voluntarium." And the reason is, says the Saint, that God judged that his servants would be better if they served him freely: "Servos suos meliores esse Deus judicavit, si ei servirent liberaliter, quod nullo modo fieri posset, si non voluntate, sed necessitate servirent."

4.—They say that it is God who operates in us all the good which we perform, as the Scriptures teach (I. Cor. xii, 6): "The same God who worketh all in all;" "Thou hast wrought all our works for us" (Isaias, xxvi, 12); "And I will cause you to walk in my commandments" (Ezechiel, xxxvi, 27). We answer, that there is no doubt but that free will after the fall was not, indeed, extinguished, but still was weakened, and inclined to evil, as the

(2) St. Aug. *l.* de Ver. Rel. *c.* 14.

Council of Trent teaches: "Tametsi in eis liberum arbitrium minime extinctum esset, viribus licet attenuatum, et inclinatum" (*Sess.* vi, *cap.* 1). There is no doubt that God operates every thing good in us; but, at the same time, he does along with us, as St. Paul (I. Cor. xv, 10) says: "By the grace of God I am what I am..... but the grace of God with me." Mark this—"the grace of God with me." God excites us to do what is good by his preventing grace, and helps us to bring it to perfection by his assisting grace; but he wishes that we should unite our endeavours to his grace, and, therefore, exhorts us to co-operate as much as we can: "Be converted to me" (Zach. i, 3); "Make unto yourselves a new heart" (Ezech. xviii, 31); "Mortify, therefore, your members.....stripping yourselves of the old man with his deeds, and putting on the new" (Col. iii, 5, &c.) He also reproves those who refuse to obey his call: "I called, and you refused" (Prov. i, 24); "How often would I have gathered together thy children.....and thou wouldst not (Matt. xxiii, 37); "You always resist the Holy Ghost" (Acts, vii, 51). All these Divine calls and reprovals would be vain and unjust if God did everything regarding our eternal salvation, without any co-operation on our part; but such is not the case. God does all, and whatever good we do, the greater part belongs to him; but still it is his will that we labour a little ourselves, as far as we can, and hence, St. Paul says: "I have laboured more abundantly than all they, yet not I, but the grace of God with me" (I. Cor. xv, 10). By this Divine Grace, therefore, we are not to understand that habitual grace which sanctifies the soul, but the actual preventing and helping grace which enables us to perform what is right, and when this grace is efficacious, it not only gives us strength to do so, in the same manner as sufficient grace does, but more—it makes us actually do what is right. From this first error, then, that free will is extinguished in man by sin, the Innovators deduce other erroneous doctrines—that it is impossible for us to observe the laws of the Decalogue; that works are not necessary for salvation, but only faith alone; that our co-operation is not required for the justification of the sinner, for that is done by the merits of Christ alone, although man should still continue in sin. We shall treat of those errors immediately.

§ II.

THAT IT IS NOT IMPOSSIBLE TO OBSERVE THE DIVINE LAW.

5.—Man having lost his free will, the sectarians say that it is impossible for him to observe the precepts of the Decalogue, and especially the first and tenth commandments. Speaking of the tenth commandment, "Thou shalt not covet," &c., *non concupisces*, they say it is quite impossible to observe it, and they found the impossibility on a fallacy. Concupiscence, they say, is itself a sin, and hence, they assert that not alone motions of concupiscence, *in actu secundo*, which precede consent, are sinful, but also movements, in *actu primo*, which precede reason, or advertence itself. Catholics, however, teach, that movements of concupiscence, in *actu primo*, which precede advertence, are neither mortal nor venial sins, but only natural defects proceeding from our corrupt nature, and for which God will not blame us. The movements which precede consent are at most only venial sins, when we are careless about banishing them from our minds after we perceive them, as Gerson and the Salmanticenses, following St. Thomas, teach, for in that case the danger of consenting to the evil desired, by not positively resisting and banishing that motion of concupiscence, is only remote, and not proximate. Doctors, however, usually except movements of carnal delectation, for then it is not enough to remain passive, *negative se habere*, as Theologians say, but we should make a positive resistance, for, otherwise, if they are any way violent, there is great danger of consenting to them. Speaking of other matters, however, the consenting alone (as we have said) to the desire of a grievous evil is a mortal sin. Now, taking the commandment in this sense, no one can deny that with the assistance of Divine Grace, which never fails us, it is impossible to observe it. If one advertently consents to a wicked desire, or takes morose delectation in thinking on it, he is then guilty of a grievous, or, at all events, of a light fault, for our Lord himself says: "Follow not in thy strength the desires of thy heart" (Eccl. v, 2); "Go not

after thy lusts" (Eccl. xviii, 30); "Let not sin, therefore, reign in your mortal body, so as to obey the lusts thereof" (Rom. vi, 12). I have used the expression *a light fault*, because the delectation of a bad object is one thing; the thought of a bad object another: this delectation of thought is not mortally sinful in itself, but only venially so; and even if there be a just cause, it is no sin at all. This, however, must be understood to be the case only when we abominate the evil object, and besides, that the consideration of it should be of some utility to us, and that the consideration of it should not lead us to take pleasure in the evil object, because if there was a proximate danger of this, the delectation would, in that case, be grievously sinful. When, then, on the other hand, concupiscence assaults us against our will, then there is no sin, for God only obliges us to do what is in our power. Man is composed of the flesh and the spirit, which are always naturally at war with each other; and hence, it is not in our power not to feel many times movements opposed to reason. Would not that master be a tyrant who would command his servant not to feel thirst or cold? In the law of Moses punishment was imposed only on actual external crimes, and hence the Scribes and Pharisees drew a false conclusion, that internal sins were not prohibited; but in the New Law our Redeemer has explained that even wicked desires are forbidden: "You have heard that it was said to them of old: Thou shalt not commit adultery; but I say to you, that whosoever shall look on a woman to lust after her, hath already committed adultery with her in his heart" (Matt. v, 27, 28). This stands to reason, for if we do not reject evil desires, it would be very difficult to avoid actual external sins; but when these desires are rejected, they are a matter of merit to us, instead of deserving of punishment. St. Paul deplored that he was tormented with carnal temptations, and prayed to God to free him from them, but was answered that his grace alone was sufficient: "There was given to me a sting of my flesh, an angel of Satan to buffet me, which thing thrice I besought the Lord that it might depart from me, and he said to me: My grace is sufficient for thee, for power is made perfect in infirmity" (II. Cor. xii, 7, &c). Mark here, "power is made perfect," which proves that when evil desires are rejected, they increase, instead of weakening our virtue. Here we should

also take occasion to remark, that the Apostle says that God does not permit that we should be tempted beyond our strength: "God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that which you are able" (I. Cor. x, 12).

6.—They also assert that it is impossible to observe the first commandment: "Thou shalt love the Lord with all thy heart." How is it possible, says Calvin, for us, living in a state of corruption, to keep our hearts continually occupied with the Divine love? Calvin understands the commandment in this way, but St. Augustin (1) does not, for he counsels us that we cannot observe it as to the words, but we can as to the obligation. We fulfil this commandment by loving God above all things, that is, by preferring the Divine Grace to every thing created. The angelic Doctor, St. Thomas (2) teaches the same. We observe, he says, the precept of loving God with all our hearts, when we love him above every thing else: "Cum mandatur, quod Deum ex toto corde diligamus, datur intelligi, quod Deum super omnia debemus diligere." The substance of the first commandment, then, consists in the obligation of preferring God above all things else, and, therefore, Jesus says that "he who loves father or mother more than me.....is not worthy of me" (Matt. x, 37). And St. Paul, confiding in the Divine Grace, says that he is certain that nothing created could separate him from the love of God: "For I am sure that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities.....nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God" (Rom. viii, 38, 39). Calvin (3) not alone taught the impossibility of observing the first and and tenth commandments, but even that the observance of any of the others was impossible.

7.—They object, first, that St. Peter said, in the Council of Jerusalem: "Now, therefore, why tempt you God to put a yoke upon the necks of the disciples, which neither our fathers nor we have been able to bear" (Acts, xv, 10). Here the Apostle himself declares that the observance of the law is impossible. We answer, that St. Peter here does not speak of the moral, but

(1) St. Aug. *l.* de Sp. & Lit. *c.* 1, & *l.* de Perf. Just. Resp.
(2) St. Thom. 2, 2 *qu.* 44, *art.* 8, *ad.* 2.
(3) Calvin in Antid. Con. Trid. *Sess.* vi, *c.* 12.

of the ceremonial law, which should not be imposed on Christians, since the Hebrews themselves found it so difficult, that very few of them observed it, though several, however, did so, as St. Luke tells us that St. Zachary and St. Elizabeth did: "They were both just before God, walking in all the commandments and justifications of the Lord, without blame" (Luke, i, 6).

8.—They object, secondly, that text of the Apostle: "For I know that there dwelleth not in me, that is to say, in my flesh, that which is good. For to will, is present with me; but to accomplish that which is good, I find not" (Romans, vii, 18). Now, when he says "that there dwelleth not in me that which is good," he tells us that the law cannot be observed; but we should not separate that passage from what follows: "that is to say, in my flesh." What St. Paul means to say is, that the flesh is opposed to the spirit, and no matter how good our will may be, we never can be exempt from every movement of concupiscence; but these movements, as we have already said, do not prevent us from observing the law.

9.—They object, thirdly, that St. John says: "If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us" (I. John, i, 8). We answer that the Apostle does not mean by that, that it is impossible for us to observe the commandments, so that no one can escape falling into mortal sin, but that on account of the present weakness of corrupt nature, no one is exempt from venial sins, as the Council of Trent declared (*Sess.* vi, *cap.* 11): "Licet enim in hac mortali vita quantumvis sancti, et justi in levia saltem, et quotidiana, quæ etiam venialia dicuntur peccata, quandoque cadant, non propterea desinunt esse justi."

10.—They object, fourthly, that St. Paul says: "Christ has redeemed us from the curse of the law being made a curse for us" (Gal. iii, 13). Therefore, say our adversaries, Christ, by the merits of his death, has exempted us from the obligation of observing the law. We answer: It is quite a different thing to say that Christ has freed us from the malediction of the law, since his grace gives us strength to observe, and thus avoid the malediction fulminated by the law against its transgressors, and to assert that he has freed us from the observance of the law, which is totally false.

11.—They object, fifthly, that the Apostle says, in another place: "Knowing this, that the law is not made for the just man, but for the unjust and disobedient, for the ungodly and for sinners" (I. Tim. i, 9). Joining this passage with the other just quoted, they say that our Redeemer has freed us from the obligation of observing the Commandments, and that when he told the young man (Matt. xix, 17), "If you wish to enter into eternal life, keep the Commandments," he only spoke ironically, as much as to say, "Keep them if you can," knowing that it was quite impossible for a child of Adam to observe them. We answer, with St. Thomas (4), that the law, as to the directive power, is given both to the just and to the unjust, to direct all men as to what they ought to do; but as to the co-active power, the law is not imposed on those who voluntarily observe it without being constrained to observe it, but on the wicked who wish to withdraw themselves from it, for it is these alone should be constrained to observe it. The explanation of the text, "Keep the Commandments," given by the Reformers, that Christ spoke ironically, is not only heretical, but totally opposed to common sense and Scripture, and is not worth an answer. The true doctrine in this matter is that of the Council of Trent (5): "Deus impossibilia non jubet, sed jubendo monet, et facere quod possis, et petere quod non possis, et adjuvat ut possis" (*Sess.* vi, *c.* 13). He, therefore, gives to every one the ordinary Grace to observe the Commandments, and whenever a more abundant Grace is required, if we pray to him for it, we are sure of obtaining it.

12.—This was the answer of St. Augustin to the Adrometines, who objected to him, that if God does not give us sufficient Grace to observe the law, he should not chastise us for violating it: "Cur me corripis? et non potius Ipsum rogas, ut in me operetur et velle" (6). And the Saint answers: "Qui corrigi non vult, et dicit, Ora potius pro me; ideo corripiendus est, ut faciat (id est oret) etiam ipse pro se." Therefore, says St. Augustin, although man does not receive efficacious Grace from God to fulfil the law, still he should be punished, and commits a sin

(4) St. Thom. 1, 2, *qu.* 96, *art.* 5.
(5) Ap. St. Aug. de Corrept. et Grat. *t.* 10, *c.* 4, *n.* 6, in fine.
(6) St. Aug. ibid, *c.* 5, *n.* 7.

by violating it, because, having it in his power to pray, and by prayer obtain more abundant assistance to enable him to observe it, he neglects to pray, and thus does not observe the law. It would be quite otherwise, if it were not granted to all to pray, and, by prayer, obtain strength to do what is right. But another efficacious Grace is necessary to pray, and, in my opinion, St. Augustin would not have answered the Adrometines rationally, that man should be punished if he did not pray for himself, for they might in that case answer him, how can he pray, if he have not efficacious Grace to pray?

§ III.

THAT GOOD WORKS ARE NECESSARY FOR SALVATION, AND THAT FAITH ALONE IS NOT SUFFICIENT.

13.—Luther said that, not alone the works of infidels and sinners were of no use, but that even works performed by the just are mere sins, or, at all events, vitiated by sin. Here are his words: "In omni opere bono justus peccat (1). Opus bonum, optime factum, est mortale peccatum secundum judicium Dei (2). Justus in bono opere peccat mortaliter" (3). Becanus (4) says that Calvin taught the same, that the works of the just are nothing but iniquity. O, my God, how blind is the human understanding, when it loses the light of Faith. This blasphemy of Luther and Calvin was properly condemned by the Council of Trent (*Sess.* vi, *can.* 22): "Si quis in quodlibet bono opere justum saltem venialiter peccare dixerit, aut quod intolerabilius est, mortaliter, atque ideo pœnas æternas mereri; tantumque ob id non damnari, quia Deus ea opera non imputet ad damnationem; anathema sit." They quote Isaias, however, who says (lxiv, 6): "And we have all become as one unclean, and all our justices," &c. But, as St. Cyril explains this text, the Prophet here is not speaking of the works of the just, but of the iniquity

(1) Luther, in Assert. *art.* 31.
(2) Idem, *art.* 33.
(3) Idem, *art.* 36.
(4) Becan. Man. contr. *l.* 1, *c.* 18, ex Calv. Inst. *l.* 2, *t.* 1, *sec.* 9, &c.

of the Jews of that day. How could good works possibly be sinful, when Christ exhorts us to perform them: "Let your light shine before men, that they may see your good works" (Matt. v, 16). They are not sins; but, on the contrary, God delights in them, and without them we cannot obtain salvation. Nothing can be clearer than the Scripture on this point: "Not every one that saith to me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doth the will of my Father" (Matt. vii, 21). To do the will of God is to do good works: "If thou wilt enter into life, keep the Commandments" (Matt. xix, 17). When God shall condemn the wicked, he will say to them: "Go from me, ye accursed." And why? "For I was hungry, and you gave me not to eat; I was thirsty, and you gave me not to drink" (Matt. xxv, 42). "Patience is necessary for you: that, doing the will of God, you may receive the promise" (Heb. x, 36). "What shall it profit, my brethren, if a man say he hath faith, but hath not works? Shall Faith be able to save him" (James, ii, 14). Here it is proved that works are necessary for salvation, and that Faith is not alone sufficient. We will treat this subject more extensively by and by.

14.—Our adversaries object, that St. Paul, writing to Titus (iii, 5—7), says: "Not by the works of justice, which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us, by the laver of regeneration, and renovation of the Holy Ghost. Whom he hath poured forth upon us abundantly, through Jesus Christ our Saviour: That being justified by his grace, we may be heirs, according to hope of life everlasting." Therefore, they say that no work of ours, though a work of justice, is available to salvation; but that we should rest all our hopes of Grace and salvation in Jesus Christ, who, by his merits, has obtained both Grace and salvation for us. To answer this argument clearly, we must make several distinctions. We can deserve Grace and eternal salvation in two ways—*de condigno* and *de congruo*. To deserve it *de condigno*, it is necessary that the Remunerator should be obliged to reward us, as a debt of justice; but to deserve it, *de congruo*, the Remunerator has no obligation to reward us—it is fit that he should do so, but it is totally an act of liberality on his part. Now, as far as human merit is with God as a matter of justice, several conditions are requisite. The act itself must

be good; it is requisite that he who performs it be in a state of Grace, and, on the part of the Almighty, it is necessary that he should have promised to reward us, for he, as man's supreme Lord, might require all service from him, without any reward at all. To make it a debt of justice, therefore, it is necessary that a gratuitous Divine promise should have been already given, by which God himself gratuitously makes himself a debtor for the reward promised. It is after this manner that St. Paul could say that he expected, in justice, eternal life, as the reward of his good works: "I have fought the good fight; I have finished my course; I have kept the Faith. As to the next, there is laid up for me a crown of justice, which the Lord, the just judge, will render to me in that day" (II. Tim. iv, 7, 8). And here St. Augustin (5) says: "Debitorem Dominus ipse se fecit, non accipiendo, sed promittendo. Non ei dicimus: Redde quod accepisti, sed redde quod promisisti."

15.—Here, then, is what the Catholic Church teaches. No man can merit actual justifying Grace *de condigno*, but only *de congruo*, and Melancthon stated a falsehood in his Apology of the Confession of Augsburg (*p.* 137), when he asserted that we believe we can merit justification by our works. The Council of Trent has declared, and this is our faith, and no other, that sinners are justified gratuitously by God, and that no work of theirs preceding their justification can deserve it. But the Council has also said that man justified, although he cannot *de condigno*, merit final perseverance (*Sess.* vi, *c.* 13), still can merit *de condigno*, by the good works he does, assisted by Divine Grace, and the merits of Christ, the augmentation of Grace and eternal life. The Council fulminates its anathema against all who deny this doctrine, in the Sixth Session (*Can.* 33): "Si quis dixerit hominis justificati bona opera ita esse dona Dei, ut non sint etiam bona ipsius justificati merita; aut ipsum justificatum bonis operibus, quæ ab eo per Dei gratiam, et per Jesu Christi meritum, cujus vivum membrum est, fiunt, non vere mereri augmentum gratiæ, vitam æternam, et ipsius vitæ æternæ (si tamen in gratia decesserit) consecutionem, atque etiam gloriæ augmentum: anathema sit." All, therefore, that we receive from

(5) St. Augus. in Psalm, 83.

God, we get through his mercy, and through the merits of Jesus Christ: but, through his goodness, he has so disposed that, with the good works we perform, by the power of his Grace, we can deserve eternal life, on account of the gratuitous promise made by him to those who do what is right. Hear again the words of the Council: "Justificatis, sive acceptam gratiam conservaverint sive amissam recuperaverint, proponenda est vita æterna, et tanquam gratia filiis Dei per Christum Jesum promissa et tanquam merces ex ipsius Dei promissione ipsorum meritis reddenda" (*Sess.* vi, *cap.* 16). Therefore, say the heretics, he who is saved can glorify himself that he is saved through his own works. No; for the Council says: "Licet bonis operibus merces tribuatur.....absit tamen, ut Christianus in se ipso vel confidat, vel glorietur, et non in Domino: cujus tanta est erga homines bonitas, ut eorum velit esse merita, quæ sunt ipsius dona."

16.—Our adversaries may thus see how unjustly the Calvinists charge us with insulting the mercy of God and the merits of Jesus Christ by attributing to our own merits the acquisition of eternal salvation. We assert that we can do nothing good, unless in virtue of the Grace communicated to us by God, through the merits of Jesus Christ, and hence all our merits are the gift of God, and if he gives us glory as a reward of our merits, he does not do so because he is obliged to give it, but because (to encourage us in his service, and make us more certain of eternal salvation if we are faithful), it is his wish merely through his own goodness gratuitously to bind himself by a promise to give eternal life to those who serve them. That being the case, what have we to glorify ourselves in, since all that is given to us we receive through the mercy of God, and by the merits of Jesus Christ communicated to us?

17.—The Scriptures most clearly prove that eternal glory in the next life is given as a reward for good works, and this glory is called a reward, a debt, a crown of justice, and a payment: "Every man shall receive his own reward according to his own labour" (I. Cor. iii, 8); Now to him that worketh the reward is not reckoned according to grace, but according to debt" (Rom. iv, 4). Mark the words "according to debt." "As to the rest there is laid up for me a crown of justice" (II. Tim. iv, 8); "And having agreed with the labourers for a penny a day, he sent

them into his vineyard" (Matt. xx, 2); "That you may be counted worthy of the kingdom of God, for which you suffer" (II. Thess. i, 5); Because thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will place thee over many things, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord" (Matt. xxv, 21); "Blessed is the man that endureth temptations, for when he hath been proved he shall receive the crown of life, which God hath promised to them that love him" (James, i, 12). All these texts prove that the merit of the just man is a merit of justice, *de condigno*.

18.—The Holy Fathers prove the same doctrines. St. Cyprian says (6): "Justitiæ opus.....ut accipiant merita nostra mercedem." St. John Chrysostom, in a long passage which I abridge, says (7): "Nunquam profecto, cum justus sit Deus, bonos hic cruciatibus affici sineret, si non in futuro seculo mercedem pro meritis parasset." St. Augustin says (8): "Non est injustus Deus, qui justos fraudet mercede justitiæ." And again (9): "Nullane sunt merita justorum? sunt plane, sed ut justi fierent; merita non fuerunt;" as they are not just by their own merits, but by the Divine Grace. Again, the same Saint says: "Deus cum coronat nostra merita, quid aliud coronat quam sua dona?" The Fathers of the Second Council of Oranges decided that, "Debetur merces bonis operibus, si fiant; sed gratiæ Dei, quæ non debetur, præcedit ut fiant." In conclusion, therefore, all our merits depend on the assistance of Grace, without which we cannot have any, and the reward of salvation due to our good works is founded in the promise gratuitously made to us by God through the merits of Jesus Christ."

19.—They object that text of St. Paul (Rom. vi, 23): "The grace of God life everlasting in Christ Jesus our Lord." Eternal life, therefore, say they, is a grace of the Divine Mercy, and not a reward due to our good works. We reply, that eternal life is justly to be attributed to the mercy of God, for he, by his mercy, has promised it to our good works. The Apostle, therefore, with good reason, calls eternal life a grace, since it is by the grace of God alone that he has constituted himself a debtor of eternal life to all who perform good works.

20.—They object, secondly, that eternal life is called an inhe-

(6) St. Cyprian de Unit.
(7) St- Chrysos. *t.* 5, *l.* 1, de Prav.
(8) St. Aug. *l.* de Nat. et Grat. *c.* 2.
(9) Idem. Epis. 165.

ritance, "Knowing that you shall receive of the Lord the reward of inheritance" (Col. iii, 24). Inheritance, they say, then, is not the right of Christians, as being children of God by merit, but solely on account of his gratuitous adoption. We answer, that to infants glory is given, solely on the title of inheritance; but adults obtain it as an inheritance, as they are the adopted children of God, and also as a reward for their good works, since God has promised them the inheritance if they observe the law; so that this inheritance is, at the same time, a gift and a retribution due to them for their merits, and this is what the Apostle means when he says: "You shall receive of the Lord the reward of inheritance."

21.—They object, thirdly, that our Lord wishes that no matter how carefully we fulfil the commandments, we should call ourselves unprofitable servants: "So you also, when you shall have done all these things that are commanded you, say, we are unprofitable servants, we have done that which we ought to do" (Luke, xvii, 10). If then, say they, we are unprofitable servants, how can we merit eternal life by our works? We answer, that our works of themselves, without grace, have no merit, but being performed with grace, they, with justice, merit eternal life, in regard of the promise made by God to those who perform them.

22.—They object, fourthly, that our works are due to God by obedience, as our supreme Lord, and, hence, they cannot merit eternal life, as justly due to them. We answer, however, that God, through his goodness, laying on one side every other title by which he might justly require all the services we can pay him, has bound himself by a promise to give us eternal glory, as the reward of our good works. But they still say, when every good work is from God, what reward can we expect? We answer, every good work is all from God, but not totally from God, in the same manner as every good work is all our own, but not totally our own, because God works with us, and we with him, and it is to this co-operation of ours that it has pleased God to promise, gratuitously, the reward of eternal life.

23.—They object, fifthly, that although the good work might be deserving of glory, still there should be some proportion between the labour and the reward; but what proportion, say

they, can be found between our works and eternal glory? "The sufferings of this time are not worthy to be compared with the glory to come that shall be revealed in us" (Rom. viii, 18). We answer, that our works in themselves, and unconnected with Divine Grace, are, without doubt, unworthy of eternal glory, but rendered valuable by Grace, they are worthy of it, and a proportion then exists between them, as the same Apostle says: "For that which is at present momentary and light of our tribulation, worketh for us above measure exceedingly an eternal weight of glory" (II. Cor. iv, 17).

24.—They object, sixthly, that St. Paul says: "For by grace you are saved through faith, and not of yourselves, for it is the gift of God, not of works, that no man may glory" (Ephes. ii, 8, 9). Here, then, say they, it is clear that it is Grace that saves us, by means of faith in Jesus Christ. The Apostle, however, is not here speaking of eternal life, but of Grace itself, which, undoubtedly, we never can merit by our works; but, as we have already proved, God wishes that those who fulfil his precepts should, on account of the promise made by him, acquire eternal glory. Then, they reply, if our works are necessary for salvation, the merits of Christ alone are not sufficient to save us. No, in truth they are not enough, but our works are also requisite, for the benefit of Jesus Christ is, that he obtained for us the power of applying his merits with our own works. Neither is there anything in that out of which we can pride ourselves, because whatever power we have to merit heaven, we have solely through the merits of Christ; and, therefore, all the glory is his, as when the vine branches produce fruit, the whole is due to the vine, which sends sap to the branches. When the just man, then, obtains eternal life, he does not glory in his own works, but in the Divine Grace which, by the merits of Christ, gave him the power of meriting it. According to the doctrine of our adversaries, however, almost every means of salvation is taken from us, for if our works are of no avail to us for salvation, and God does every thing, then it is no matter whether our morals are good or bad, we need no preparation to receive the Sacraments; and prayer, inculcated in so many passages of the Scripture, is totally useless to us. What worse doctrine than this could the devil himself invent to lead souls to perdition?

25.—This leads us on to another point, following from the former one—that Faith alone is sufficient to save us, as Luther and Calvin said, who, on this anchor alone, trusted their eternal salvation, and therefore, despised all law and judgment, cared nothing for righteousness, prayers, or sacraments, and considered all things, no matter how wicked, lawful. They asserted that the Faith by which we firmly believe that God will save us by the merits of Jesus Christ, and the promises made by him, is alone sufficient without works, to obtain salvation for us from God and this Faith they called *Fiducia*, confidence, it being a hope founded on the promise of Jesus Christ. They quote Scripture, too, in favour of this opinion: "Who believes in the Son, hath eternal life" (John, iii, 36); "That he himself may be just, and the justifier of him who is of the Faith of Jesus Christ" (Romans, iii, 26); "In him, every one that believeth is justified" (Acts, xiii, 39); "Whoever believeth in him shall not be confounded" (Rom. x, 11); "The just man liveth by Faith" (Gal. iii, 11); "The justice of God, by Faith of Jesus Christ, unto all, and upon all them that believe in him" (Rom. iii, 22).

26.—If Faith alone, however, justifies us, how is it, that the very same Scriptures declare, that it is of no use without works? "What shall it profit my brethren, if a man say he hath faith but hath not works? Shall faith be able to save him?" (James, ii, 14); and immediately after he says (*ver.* 17): "So Faith also, if it have not works is dead in itself." Luther, to be sure, says, that this Epistle is not canonical, but we believe rather the authority of the Church, which includes it in her Canon. But there are numberless other passages to prove that Faith alone is not sufficient to save us, but that it is necessary also, that we fulfil the commandments. St. Paul says: "If I should have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing" (I. Cor. xiii. 2). Jesus Christ commanded his disciples: "Go teach all nations.....to observe all things whatever I commanded you" (Mark, xxviii, 19, 20). And he said to the young man: "If thou wilt enter into eternal life, observe the commandments" (Matt. xix, 17), and there are many other texts of a like nature. The texts, therefore, adduced by our adversaries, must be understood to refer to that Faith, which, as St. Paul teaches, operates by charity: "For in Christ Jesus, neither

circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but faith, that worketh by charity" (Gal. v, 6); and hence St. Augustin (10) says, that Faith may exist without charity, but it availeth nothing. Hence, when we find it said in the Scriptures, that Faith saves us, we are to understand that living Faith, that is, the Faith which saves us by good works, which are the vital operations of Faith, for if these are wanting it is a sign that the Faith is dead, and that which is dead cannot give life. Hence it is that the Lutherans themselves, as Lomer, Gerard, the Doctors of Strasbourg, and the greater part of the sect, as a certain author states (11), forsaking the doctrine of their master, insist on the necessity of good works for salvation. Bossuet (12) tells us that the Lutherans of the University of Wittemberg in the Confession they presented to the Council of Trent, said "that good works ought of necessity be practised, and that they deserve, by the gratuitous goodness of God, recompense both corporal and spiritual."

27.—The Council of Trent (*Sess.* vi, *can.* 19), says: "Si quis dixerit, nihil præceptum esse in Evangelio præter fidem, cetera esse indifferentia, neque prohibita, sed libera; aut decem præcepta nihil pertinere ad Christianos: anathema sit;" and in Can. 20: "Si quis hominem justificatum, et quantumlibet perfectum, dixerit non teneri ad observantiam mandatorum Dei, et Ecclesiæ, sed tantum ad credendum; quasi vero Evangelium sit nuda, et absoluta promissio vitæ æternæ, sine conditione observationis mandatorum: anathema sit."

(10) St. Aug. *l.* 15 de Trin. *c.* 18.
(11) Pich. Theol. Pol. par. post. *ar.* 6.
(12) Bossuet. Variat. *l.* 8, *n.* 30 in fine.

§ IV.

THE SINNER IS NOT JUSTIFIED BY FAITH ALONE

28.—The sectarians say, that the sinner, by means of Faith, or *confidence* in the promises of Jesus Christ, and believing with an infallible certainty, that he is justified, becomes so, for the justice of Jesus Christ is extrinsically imputed to him, by which his sins are not indeed concealed, but covered, and are thus not imputed to him, and they found this dogma on the words of David: "Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered. Blessed is the man to whom the Lord hath not imputed sin, and in whose spirit there is no guile" (Psalm xxxi, 1, 2).

29.—The Catholic Church, however, condemns and anathematizes the doctrine, that as man is absolved from his sins, by Faith alone, that he is justified. Hear the Council of Trent on this subject (*Sess.* vi, *can.* 14): "Si quis dixerit, hominem a peccatis absolvi, ac justificari ex eo quod se absolvi ac justificari certo credat; aut neminem vere esse justificatum, nisi qui credat se esse justificatum, et hac sola fide absolutionem, et justificationem perfici; anathema sit." The Church, besides, teaches, that in order that the sinner should become justified, it is necessary that he be disposed to receive Grace. Faith is necessary for this disposition, but Faith alone is not sufficient. The Council of Trent (*Sess.* vi, *cap.* 6), says, that acts of hope, of love, of sorrow, and a purpose of amendment are also necessary, and God then finding the sinner thus disposed, gives him gratuitously his Grace, or intrinsic justice (*ibid. cap.* 7), which remits to him his sins, and sanctifies him.

30.—We shall now examine the points on which the supposition of our adversaries rests. In the first place, they say, that by means of faith in the merits and promises of Jesus Christ, our sins are not taken away, but are covered. This supposition is, however, totally opposed to the Scriptures, which teach that the sins are not alone covered, but are taken away and cancelled in

a justified soul: "Behold the lamb of God, behold him who taketh away the sins of the world" (John, i, 29); "Be penitent, therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out" (Acts, iii, 19); "He will cast all our sins into the bottom of the sea" (Micheas, vii, 19); "So also Christ was offered once, to exhaust the sins of many" (Heb. ix, 28). Now that which is taken away, which is blotted out, which is annihilated, we cannot say exists any longer. We are also taught that the justified soul is cleansed and delivered from its sins: "Thou shalt sprinkle me with hyssop, and I shall be cleansed, thou shalt wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow" (Psalm l, 9); "You shall be cleansed from all your filthiness" (Ezech. xxxvi, 25); "And such some of you were, but you are washed, but you are sanctified, but you are justified" (I. Cor. vi, 11); "But now being made free from sin, and become servants to God, you have your fruit unto sanctification" (Rom. vi, 22). It is on this account that Baptism, by which sin is remitted, is called regeneration and renovation: "He saved us by the laws of regeneration and renovation of the Holy Ghost" (Tit. iii, 5); "Unless a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God" (John, iii, 3). The sinner, therefore, when he is justified, is generated again, and re-born to Grace, so that he is changed in all, and renovated from what he was before.

31.—How is it, then, that David says our sins are covered? "Blessed are they whose sins are covered." St. Augustin, explaining this Psalm says, that wounds may be covered both by the sufferer and the physician; the sufferer himself only covers them, but the physician both covers them with a plaister and heals them: "Si tu tegere volueris erabescens (says the Saint) Medicus non sanabit; Medicus tegat, et curet." Our sins, by the infusion of Grace, are covered at the same time and healed, but the heretical opinion is, that they are covered, but not healed; they are covered only inasmuch as God does not impute them to the sinner. If sins remained in the soul as far as the fault was concerned should not God impute them to us? God judges according to truth: "For we know the judgment of God is according to truth" (Rom. ii, 2); but how could God judge according to the truth, judging that man not to be culpable, who is in reality culpable? These are truly some of Calvin's mysteries which

surpass our comprehension. The Scripture says, "To God the wicked and his wickedness are equal alike" (Wisdom, xiv, 9). If God hates the sinner on account of the sin that reigns in him, how can he love him as a child, because he is covered with the justice of Christ, while he is still a sinner all the while? Sin, by its very nature, is contrary to God, so it is impossible that God should not hate it as long as it is not taken away, and he must also hate the sinner as long as he retains it. David says: "Blessed is the man to whom the Lord hath not imputed sin." We understand by this not that God does not impute sin by leaving sin in the soul, and not pretending to see it, but that he does not impute it because he cancels and remits it, and hence David says, in the very same passage, "Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven." The sins that are forgiven to us are not imputed to us.

32.—They say, in the second place, that in the justification of a sinner intrinsic justice is not infused into him, but the justice of Christ alone is imputed to him, so that the wicked man does not become just, but remains wicked still, and is reputed just alone by the extrinsic justice of Christ which is imputed to him. This is, however, an evident error, for the sinner cannot become a friend of God if he does not receive justice of his own, which will renovate him internally, and change him from being a sinner to become one of the just, and as he was previously hateful in the eyes of God, now having acquired this justice, he is agreeable to him. Hence St. Paul exhorts the Ephesians to become renewed in spirit, "And be renewed in the spirit of your mind" (Eph. iv, 23). And hence the Council of Trent says that by the merits of Christ internal justice is communicated to us: "Qua renovamur spiritus mentis nostræ, et non modo reputamur, sed vere etiam justi nominanur, et sumus" (*Sess.* vi, *cap.* 7). The Apostle says in another place, that the sinner, by justification, "is renewed unto knowledge according to the image of him who created him" (Col. iii, 10); so that the sinner, by the merits of Christ, returns back to that state from which he fell by sin, and becomes sanctified as a temple in which God dwells, and hence the Apostle, admonishing his disciples, says: "Fly fornication..... know you not that your members are the temple of the Holy Ghost" (I. Cor. vi, 18, 19). What is more surprising than all is,

that Calvin himself knew that man never can be reconciled with God unless internal and inherent justice is given to him: "Nunquam reconciliamur Deo, quin simul donemur inhærente justitia" (1). These are his own words, and how can he afterwards say that through Faith alone we are justified with the imputative justice of Christ, which is not ours, nor is in us, neither does it belong to us, and is totally extern to us, and is merely extrinsically imputed to us, so that it does not make us just, only to be reputed just? This has been justly condemned by the Council of Trent (*Sess.* v, *can.* 10): "Si quis dixerit, homines sine Christi justitia, per quam nobis meruit, justificari; aut per eam ipsam formaliter justos esse; anathema sit." (*Can.* 11): "Si quis dixerit homines justificari vel sola imputatione justitiæ Christi, vel sola peccatorum remissione, exclusa gratia, et caritate, quæ in illis inhæreat.....anathema sit."

33.—They object, first, the text (Rom. iv, 5): "But to him that worketh not, yet believeth in him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is reputed to justice." We answer, briefly, that here the Apostle says that faith should be imputed to justice, to teach us that the sinner is justified, not by his own works, but by his faith in the merits of Christ; but he does not say, that in virtue of this faith the justice of Christ is extrinsically imputed to the sinner who, without being just, is reputed so.

34.—They object, secondly, that St. Paul says to Titus: "Not by the works of justice which we have done, but according to his mercy, he saved us by the labour of regeneration and renovation of the Holy Ghost, whom he hath poured forth upon us abundantly, through Jesus Christ our Saviour" (Tit. iii, 5, 6). Therefore, they say, God justifies us by his mercy, and not by the works, which we allege are necessary for justification. We reply, that our works, as hope, charity, and repentance, with a purpose of amendment, are necessary to render us disposed to receive grace from God; but when the Almighty gives it to us, he does so not for our works, but through his mercy alone, and the merits of Jesus Christ. Let them particularly remark the words "renovation of the Holy Ghost, whom he hath poured forth abundantly upon us, through Jesus Christ our Saviour;" so that

(1) Calvin, *l.* de vera rat. Reform. Eccles.

when God justifies us, he infuses upon us, not away from us, the Holy Ghost, who renews us, changing us from sinners unto Saints.

35.—They object, thirdly, another text of St. Paul: "But of him are you in Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom, and justice, and sanctification, and redemption" (I. Cor. i, 30). Behold, they exclaim, how Jesus Christ is made our justice. We do not deny that the justice of Jesus Christ is the cause of our justice; but we deny that the justice of Christ is our justice itself, no more than we can say that our wisdom is the wisdom of Christ; and as we do not become wise because of the wisdom of Christ imputed to us, neither do we become just because his justice is imputed to us, as the sectarians teach: "He is made unto us wisdom, and justice, and sanctification." All this is to be understood not imputatively, but effectively, that is, that Jesus Christ, by his wisdom, and justice, and sanctity, has made us become effectively wise, and just, and holy. It is in the same sense we say to God: "I will love thee, O Lord, my strength" (Psalm xvii, 1); "For thou art my patience, O Lord" (Psalm lxx, 5); "The Lord is my light and my salvation" (Psalm xxvi, 1). How is God our strength, our patience, our light? is it imputatively alone? By no means; he is effectively so, for it is he who strengthens, enlightens, and renders us patient; and who saves us.

36.—They object, fourthly, that the Apostle says: "Put on the new man, who according to God is created in justice and holiness of truth" (Ephes. iv, 24). Here, say they, it is plain that we, in the justification by faith, clothe ourselves with the justice of Christ as with a garment, which is extrinsic to us. Behold how all heretics boast of not following anything but the pure Scriptures, and will not listen to Tradition, nor the definitions of Councils, nor the authority of the Church. The Scripture, they cry, is our only rule of faith; and why so? Because they distort it, and explain it each after his own fashion, and thus render the Book of Truth a fountain of error and falsehood. In answer to the objection, however, we reply, St. Paul in that passage, does not speak of extrinsic, but intrinsic justice, and he, therefore, says: "Be renewed in the spirit of your mind, and put on the new man," &c. (Ephes. iv, 23). He means that

clothing ourselves with Jesus Christ, we should renew ourselves internally in spirit with intrinsic and inherent justice, as Calvin himself admitted; for, otherwise, remaining sinners, we could not renew ourselves. He says: "Put on the new man," because, as a garment is not properly a thing belonging to the body itself, or part of it, so grace or justice does not properly belong to the sinner, but is gratuitously given to him by the mercy of God alone. The Apostle says in another place: "Put on bowels of mercy" (Col. iii, 13). Now, as in this passage he does not speak of extrinsic and apparent mercy, but of that which is real and intrinsic, so when he says: "Put on the new man," he means that we should strip ourselves of the old vicious and graceless man, and put on the new man enriched not with the imputative justice of Jesus Christ, but with intrinsic justice belonging to ourselves, though given us through the merits of Jesus Christ.

§ V.

FAITH ALONE CANNOT RENDER US SECURE OF JUSTICE, OR PERSEVERANCE, OR ETERNAL LIFE.

37.—It was one of Luther's doctrines, in which he was closely followed by Calvin, that man, after being once justified by Faith, should no longer have either fear or doubt, but that all his sins were forgiven him, and hence he says (1): "Believe firmly that you are absolved, and you will be so, no matter what contrition you may have;" and he props up this opinion by a text of St. Paul: "Try your ownselves if you be in the faith: prove ye yourselves. Know you not your ownselves, that Christ Jesus is in you, unless perhaps you be reprobated?" (II. Cor. xiii, 6). From this text Luther deduces that a man may be certain of his Faith, and hence he concludes, that being certain of his Faith, he is also certain of the remission of sins. But what sort of conclusion is this? A man is certain of his Faith; but when he knows, at the same time, that he is a sinner, how can he be certain of

(1) Luther, Serm. de Indulg. *t.* 1, *p.* 59.

pardon, unless he is also certain of contrition? Luther himself had previously said (2): "No one can be sure of the truth of his contrition, and much less of pardon." This is the way with all heretics; they are continually contradicting themselves. Besides, in this passage the Apostle is not speaking of justification, but of the miracles which the Corinthians should believe were wrought by God.

38.—The Council of Trent (*Sess.* vi, *cap.* 9), teaches, that although every one ought to be certain of the Divine Mercy, of the merits of Christ, and of the power of the Sacraments, still no one can be certain of the remission of his sins as a matter of Faith, and in the 13th Canon condemns all who assert the contrary: "Si quis dixerit, omni homini ad remissionem peccatorum assequendam necessarium esse, ut credat certo, et absque ulla hæsitatione propriæ infirmitatis, et indispositionis peccata sibi esse remissa: anathema sit." And this is proved by the Scriptures likewise: "Man knoweth not whether he be worthy of love or hatred, but all things are kept uncertain for the time to come" (Eccles. ix, 1, 2). Calvin (3) objects that this text does not allude to the state of a soul in grace or anger with God, but to the prosperous or adverse circumstances which happen in this life, as by those temporal accidents we cannot know whether God loves or hates us, since prosperity and adversity are the portions of good and bad alike; but, on the other hand, he says man can very well know whether he is just or unjust, if he knows that he has or has not Faith. But we answer, that this text does not speak of temporal things, but of the love or hatred with which God looks on the state of the soul, and, therefore, it says, "all things are kept uncertain for the time to come." If, therefore, in this life all things are "kept uncertain," then what our adversaries say cannot be the fact, that man, by the knowledge of his Faith, can be certain that he is in a state of Grace.

39.—God, besides, admonishes us that we should be afraid even of the sin forgiven already: "Be not without fear about sin forgiven" (Eccles. v, 5). The Innovators quote the Greek text here, which says not *forgiven*, but *forgiveness*, and that, they say, means that we should not presume that the sins not yet com-

(2) Luther Serm. de Indulg. *t.* 1, *p.* 30.

(3) Calvin, Instit. *l.* 3, *c.* 2, *s.* 38.

mitted will be forgiven. This interpretation, however, is false, because the Greek expression comprehends both past and future sins, and the Greek text is explained in the Latin translation by past sins. St. Paul surely had a knowledge of his Faith, and although he did not feel his conscience laden with any sin, and saw himself favoured by God with revelations and extraordinary gifts, still he did not consider himself with certainty justified. God alone, he says, knew in truth whether he was or not: "I am not conscious to myself of anything, yet I am not hereby justified, but he that judgeth me is the Lord" (I. Cor, iv, 4).

40.—Our adversaries object, that the Apostle says: "The Spirit himself giveth testimony of our Spirit, that we are the sons of God" (Rom. viii, 16). Hence Calvin concludes that it is Faith which assures us of being the children of God. We answer that, although the testimony of the Holy Ghost is infallible in itself, still as we are concerned, and know anything about it, we can only have a conjectural certainty of being in a state of Grace, but never can be infallibly certain of it, unless by a special revelation from God. And, moreover, as far as our knowledge goes, we cannot know if that Spirit be surely from God, for many times the angel of darkness transforms himself into an angel of light, to deceive us.

41.—Luther said, that a faithful man, by means of justifying Faith, though he may be in sin at the time, ought to believe with an infallible certainty, that he is justified by reason of the justice of Christ, imputed to him; but he afterwards said that this justice might be lost by any new sin. Calvin (4), on the contrary, made an addition to this heresy, for he insisted on the *inadmissibility* of this imputative justice. If we could suppose Luther's false principle of justifying Faith to be true, we should admit that Calvin had more reason at his side than he. He said, if any one of the Faithful is sure of his justification, when he prays for it, and believes with confidence that God, by the merits of Christ, justifies him, this petition then, and this certainty of Faith, regard no less the remission of sins committed, than the future perseverance in Grace, and, consequently, eternal salvation. Calvin adds (5), that when the faithful man relapses

(4) Bossuet, Var. *t.* 3, *l.* 14, *n.* 16. (5) Calv. Ant. ad Con. Trid. *s.* 6, *c.* 13.

into sin, though his justifying Faith is oppressed by it, it is not, however, lost, for the soul always would have retained possession of it. Such were the specious doctrines of Calvin, and this was the doctrine professed by the Elector Count Palatine, in his Confession of Faith: "I believe," said he, "that I am a living member of the Catholic Church for evermore, since God, appeased by the satisfaction of Jesus Christ, will not remember either the past or future sins of my life" (6).

42.—The whole gist of the matter is this, that the principle of Luther, as we have already seen, is false, in the first place, for, in order to obtain justification, it is not enough to have Faith alone that we are justified by the merits of Christ; but it is necessary, also, that the sinner should have contrition for his faults, so as to dispose himself to receive the remission which God grants him, according to the promise he has made, to pardon those who repent, through the merits of Jesus Christ. Hence, if the justified man relapses into sin, he again loses Grace.

43.—If the doctrine of Luther, regarding the certainty of justification, is false, the doctrine of Calvin, regarding the certainty of perseverance and eternal salvation, is equally so. St. Paul tells us: "Wherefore he that thinketh himself to stand, let him take heed lest he fall" (I. Cor. x, 12). And, again, he tells us: "With fear and trembling, work out your salvation" (Phil. ii, 12). How, then, can Calvin say that it is a temptation of the devil, to have any fear about our perseverance? When St. Paul, then, tells us to live in fear, does he mean that we should second the temptations of the devil? But, say they, what is the use of this fear? If what Calvin asserts was true, that having once received justice and the Holy Ghost, we can never lose them, because, according to him, justifying Faith is never lost, and to him who has Faith, God does not impute his sins—if all this, I say, were true, then, indeed, it would be useless to dread the loss of Divine Grace. But can any one imagine that God will give his friendship and eternal glory to one who tramples on the Divine Law, and commits all sorts of wickedness; and all this because he believes, forsooth, that through the merits of Jesus Christ, the crimes he commits will not be imputed to him?

(6) Recuil. de Genevre, *part* 2, *p.* 169.

Such, then, is the gratitude these Reformers show to Jesus Christ. They avail themselves for the death he suffered for love of us, to involve themselves more and more in crime, trusting that, through his merits, God will not impute their sins to them. So Jesus Christ, then, has died, that men may have leave to do whatever they please, without fear of punishment. If such, however, was the fact, why did God promulgate his laws—make so many promises to those who observe them—and threaten those who violate them? God, however, never deceives us when he speaks to us; he wishes that the commandments he imposes on us should be exactly observed—"Thou hast commanded thy commandments to be kept most diligently" (Psalm cxviii, 4)—and condemns those who offend against his laws—"Thou hast despised all those that fall off from thy judgments (Psalm cxviii, 118). It is thus that fear is useful: the fear of losing the Divine Grace, which makes us cautiously avoid the occasions of sin, and adopt the means of perseverance in a good life, such as frequenting the Sacraments, and praying continually.

44.—Calvin says that, according to St. Paul, the gifts of God are irrevocable, and given to us without penance: "The gifts and calling of God are without repentance" (Romans, xi, 29). Whosoever, therefore, he says, has received the Faith, and, with the Faith, Grace, to which eternal salvation is united, as these are perpetual gifts, they never can be lost; and thus the faithful man, though he may fall into sin, will always be in possession of that justice, which is given him by Faith. Here, however, we ask a question. David, surely, had Faith—he fell into the sins of murder and adultery; now, I ask, when David was in sin, before his repentance, was he a sinner or a just man? if he died in that state would he be damned or not? No one, I believe, will be bold enough to assert, that he could be saved in that state. In that state, then, he was no longer just, as he himself, after his conversion, confessed—"I know my iniquity;" and, therefore, he prayed to God, to cancel his sins—"Blot out my iniquity" (Psalm l, 2). It will not do to say that he who is predestined may consider himself just in the meantime, since he will do penance for his sins before he dies; that will not do, I assert, because future penance cannot make the sinner just, when

he is in a state of sin at the time. Bossuet (7) says that the difficulty of accounting for this, according to Calvin's doctrine, caused many of his followers to return to the bosom of the Church.

45.—Before we conclude this subject, we may as well review the Scripture texts on which Calvin founds his doctrine. The Apostle St. James, he says, tells us that we should pray to God for Graces—and that of perseverance is the principal of all others—without having any doubt of obtaining them: "Let him ask in Faith, nothing wavering" (James, i, 6); and our Lord himself says: "All things whatsoever you ask when ye pray, believe that you shall receive; and they shall come unto you" (Mark, xi, 24). Therefore, says Calvin, whosoever seeks perseverance from God, and believes that he obtains it, never can want it, as we have the Divine promise for it. We answer that, although the promise of God, to hear him who prays to him, can never fail, still that is to be understood, when we pray for Grace, with all the requisite conditions, and one of the conditions of beseeching prayer is perseverance; but if we cannot be certain that in future we will persevere in prayer, how can we be sure at the present time that we will persevere in Grace? Calvin, besides, objects that St. Paul says: "I am sure that neither death nor life, &c., ...shall be able to separate us from the love of God" (Rom. viii, 38, 39). But we reply to this, that the Apostle does not here speak of an infallible certainty of Faith, but only of a simple moral certainty, founded on the Divine Mercy, and on that good will which God gave him, to suffer every thing, sooner than be separated from his love.

46.—Leave Calvin aside, and hear what the Council of Trent teaches, concerning perseverance and predestination. Speaking of perseverance, it says: "Si quis magnum illud usque in finem perseverantiæ donum se certo habiturum, absoluta et infallibili certitudine dixerit, nisi hoc ex speciali revelatione didicerit: anathema sit" (*Sess.* vi, *can.* 16). And, regarding predestination: "Si quis dixerit, hominem renatum, et justificatum teneri ex fide ad credendum, se certo esse in numero prædestinatorum:

(7) Bossuet, Variat. *t.* 3, *l.* 14, *n.* 16.

anathema sit" (*Sess.* vi, *can.* 15). Behold, then, how clearly and distinctly the Council defines all the dogmas of Faith, opposed to the errors of modern innovators. I make this remark for the instruction of those who assert that the Council gave only ambiguous decisions in their controversies, and that it only increased disputes, instead of putting an end to them. The Fathers of the Council said over and over, that it was never their intention to give any decision regarding the questions debated in Catholic schools, but solely to define matters of Faith, and condemn the errors of the pretended Reformers, who were endeavouring, not to reform morals, but to subvert the ancient and true doctrines of the Catholic Church. The Council, therefore, speaks ambiguously of scholastic questions, and gives no decision on them; but in matters of Faith, contested by Protestants, it always speaks with the greatest clearness, and without any ambiguity. Those alone find the definitions of the Council doubtful who refuse to yield obedience to them. To come back to the subject. The Council teaches that no one can be sure that he is predestined; and, in fact, how can any one be sure of predestination, when he is not sure that he will persevere in goodness. But, says Calvin, St. John teaches that "You have eternal life, you who believe in the name of the Son of God" (I. John, v, 13). Therefore, says he, whoever has faith in Jesus Christ has eternal life. We answer, he who believes in Jesus Christ with true Faith, enlivened by Charity, has eternal life, not in possession, but in hope, as St. Paul says: "For we are saved by hope" (Rom. viii, 24). Perseverance is necessary to obtain eternal life—"He that shall persevere to the end, he shall be saved" (Matt. x, 22)—but as long as we are uncertain of perseverance, we are never sure of eternal life.

47.—The sectarians object that the uncertainty of eternal salvation makes us doubt of the Divine promises, to be saved by the merits of Jesus Christ. We answer that the Divine promises never can fail, so, on God's part, we never can doubt that he will be wanting, by denying what he promised us. The doubt and fear is on our side, for we may be found wanting, by transgressing his Divine commandments, and thus losing his Grace. God in that case is not obliged to fulfil the promises made to us, but rather punish our infidelity; and, therefore, St. Paul exhorts us

to work out our salvation with fear and trembling (Phil. ii, 12). We are, therefore, certain of salvation, if we remain faithful to God; but, on the other hand, should dread our perdition, if we are unfaithful. But, they add, this fear and uncertainty destroys peace of conscience. We answer, that peace of conscience in this life does not consist in a certain belief that we will be saved, for this is not what God promises us, but it consists in the hope that he will save us, through the merits of Jesus Christ, if we strive to live well, and endeavour, by prayer, to obtain the Divine assistance to persevere in a holy life. This it is which is so hurtful to these heretics; for, trusting to this Faith alone for salvation, they pay little attention to the observance of the Divine commandments, and much less to prayer, and, not praying, they are deprived of the Divine assistance necessary for a good life, and thus they are lost. Surrounded as we are by dangers and temptations, we have need of a continual assistance from Grace, which, without prayer, we cannot obtain; and, for that reason, God tells us we should pray continually: "We ought always to pray, and not to faint" (Luke, xviii, 1). He, however, who believes that he is sure of salvation, and believes that prayer is not necessary for this object, scarcely prays at all, and then is lost. He, on the contrary, who is not sure of his salvation, and fears to fall into sin, and be lost, will surely pray continually to God to succour him, and thus hopes to obtain perseverance and salvation, and this is the only peace of conscience we can have in the present life. No matter how the Calvinists may strive to obtain perfect peace, by believing their salvation certain, they never can accomplish it in this way; and we even see the Synod of Dort, the great exponent of their doctrine (*Art.* 12), declare that the gift of Faith (which, according to them, includes past and future justification) is not granted by God unless to his elect alone. How, then, can a Calvinist be sure that he is among the number of the elect, when he knows nothing about his election? This alone would, we think, be sufficient to show them that they cannot be certain of their salvation.

§ VI.

GOD CANNOT BE THE AUTHOR OF SIN.

48.—Dear Reader, you will be horrified to hear the blasphemies which those sectarians, and especially Calvin, vomited forth, concerning sin. They are not afraid to say that God ordains all the sins committed on this earth. Here are Calvin's own words (1): "Nec absurdum videri debet, quod dico, Deum non modo primi hominis casum, et in eo posteriorum ruinam prævidisse, sed arbitrio quoque suo dispensasse." And again he says (2): "Ex Dei ordinatione reprobis injicitur peccandi necessitas." He says, in the second place (3), that God pushes on the devil to tempt man to sin: "Dicitur et Deus suo modo agere, quod Satan ipse (instrumentum cum sit iræ ejus) pro ejus nutu, atque imperio se inflectit ad exequenda ejus justa justitia." And again (*Sec.* 5), he says: "Porro Satanæ ministerium intercedere ad reprobos, instigandos, quoties huc atque illuc Dominus providentia sua eos destinat." He says, thirdly (4), that God instigates man to sin: "Homo justo Dei impulsu agit, quod sibi non licet." In the fourth place (5), he says, that God himself operates sin in us and with us, and makes use of men as instruments for the execution of his judgments: "Concedo fures, homicidas, &c., Divinæ esse providentiæ instrumenta, quibus Dominis ad exequenda sua judicia utitur." In this respect, Calvin's doctrine approaches Luther's and Zuinglius's. Luther says: "Mala opera in impiis Deus operatur." And Zuinglius (6) writes: "Quando facimus adulterium, homicidium, Dei opus est auctoris." In fine, Calvin (7) is not ashamed to say that God is the author of all sin: "Et jam satis aperte ostendi, Deum vocari omnium eorum (peccatorum) auctorem, quæ isti Censores volunt tantum ejus permissu contingere." Soothed by such doctrines, the sectarians flatter themselves that their vices are excusable; for, if they sin,

(1) Calvin, Inst. *l.* 3, *c.* 23, *sec.* 7, infra.
(2) Idem, ibid, *sec.* 39.
(3) Idem, *l.* 3, *c.* 4, *sec.* 3.
(4) Calvin, Inst. *l.* 1, *c.* 18, *sec.* 4.
(5) Idem, *l.* 1, *c.* 17, *sec.* 5.
(6) Zuing. Serm. de Provid. *c.* 6.
(7) Calv. *l.* 1, *c.* 1, *sec.* 3.

they do it through necessity, and if they are damned, it is by necessity also, for all the damned are destined to be so by God, even before their creation. This monstrous doctrine will be refuted in the next Section.

49.—Calvin maintains this horrible opinion by the following reasons: God never, he says, could have had the foreknowledge of the eternal happiness or misery of any of us, if he had not ordained by his decree the good or bad works we perform during our lives: "Decretum quidem horribile fateor, inficiari tamen nemo poterit, quin præsciverit Deus, quem exitum esset habiturus homo; et ideo præsciverit, quia decreto suo sic ordinaverat." We answer, that there is a great difference between foreseeing and predestining the sins of mankind. There is not the least doubt but that God, by his infinite intelligence, knows and comprehends every thing that will come to pass, and, among the rest, all the sins which each one will commit; but some things he foresees according to his positive decree; others according to his permission; but neither the Divine decree nor the permission are opposed to man's free will, for when God foresees our good or evil works, he foresees them all performed freely. The sectaries argue thus: If God has foreseen Peter's sin, for example, he cannot be mistaken as to his knowledge of what will happen when the time foreseen arrives; therefore Peter must necessarily sin. Here they are in error, however, when they say *necessarily;* he will infallibly sin, because God has foreseen it, and cannot err in his foresight; but he will not necessarily sin, because, if he wishes to sin, he will do so of his own free will, by his own malice, and God will permit him to do so, solely not to deprive him of that free will which he gave him.

50.—We shall now see how many absurd consequences proceed from this sectarian doctrine. First absurdity—They say that God, for his own just ends, ordains and wills the sins committed by mankind. But nothing can be clearer than the Scriptures on this point, which tell us that God not only does not wish sins, but looks on them with horror, and wishes nothing so much as our sanctification: "Thou art not a God that willest iniquity" (Psalm v, 5). "To God the wicked and his wickedness are hateful alike" (Wisdom, xiv, 9); "Thy eyes are too pure to behold evil, and thou canst not look on iniquity" (Habak. i, 13).

Now, when God protests that he does not wish sin, but hates and prohibits it, how can the sectarians say, that, contradicting himself, he wishes it and predestines it? Calvin himself (8) takes notice of this difficulty: "Objiciunt" he says, "Si nihil eveniat, nisi volente Deo, duas esse in eo contrarias voluntates, quia occulto consilio decernat, quæ lege sua palam vetuit, facile diluitur." How does he get out of the difficulty? merely by saying, "We cannot understand it." The true answer, however, is, that his supposition is totally false, for God can never wish that which he hates and forbids. Melancthon, even in the Augsburg Confession, says; "Causa peccati est voluntas impiorum, quæ avertit se a Deo." The will of the wicked turned away from God is the cause of sin.

51.—The second absurdity is this—God, they say, incites the devil to tempt us, and he himself even tempts man, and drives him on to sin. How can that be, however, when God prohibits us from following our evil inclinations: "Go not after thy lusts" (Eccles. xviii, 30); and to fly from sin as from a serpent: "Flee from sin as from the face of a serpent" (Eccles. xxi, 2). St. Paul tells us to clothe ourselves with the armour of God, that is, prayer, against temptations: "Put on the armour of God, that you may be able to stand against the deceits of the devil" (Ephes. vi, 11). St. Stephen reproaches the Jews, that they resisted the Holy Ghost; but if it were true that God moved them to sin, they might answer, we do not resist the Holy Ghost, by any means, but do what he inspires us, and on that account we stone you. Jesus Christ teaches us to pray to God not to permit us to be tempted by those dangerous occasions, which may lead to our fall: "Lead us not into temptation." Now, if God urges on the devil to tempt us, and even tempts us himself, and moves us to sin, and decrees that we sin, how can he command us to fly from sin and resist it, and to pray that we may be free from temptations. If God has decreed that Peter, for example, should have a certain temptation, and succumb to it, how can he command this same Peter to pray that he may free him from this temptation, and change his own decree? God never urges the devil to tempt us, but merely permits him to do

(8) Calvin, Inst. *l.* 1, *c.* 16, *sec.* 3.

so to prove us. When the devil tempts us, he commits a wickedness, and God cannot command him to do this: "He hath commanded no man to do wickedly, and he hath given no man license to sin" (Eccles. xv, 21). Our Lord himself promises, even, that whenever we are tempted he will assist us, and give us sufficient grace to resist, and declares that he will never allow us to be tempted beyond our strength: "God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that which you are able" (I. Cor. x, 13). But they still insist God, as we read in the Scriptures, several times tempted man: "God hath tried them" (Wisdom, iii, 5). "After these things God tempted Abraham" (Gen. xxii, 1). We must here draw a distinction: the devil tempts men to make them fall into sin, but God tempts them, solely to prove their fidelity, as he did in Abraham's case, and does continually, with his faithful servants: "God hath tried them, and found them worthy of himself" (Wisdom, iii, 5); but he never tempts man to fall into sin, as the devil does: "For God is not a tempter of evils, and he tempteth no man" (James, i, 13).

52.—The third absurdity is this—God says: "Believe not every spirit, but try the spirits if they be of God" (I. John, iv, 1). Hence, we Catholics are bound to examine the resolutions we take, as well as the counsels we receive from others, even when at first they appear good and holy, because frequently what we believe to be an inspiration from God is nothing but a snare of the devil. According to Calvin's doctrine, however, we are not obliged to make this examination, and see whether the spirit is good or bad, because whether it be one or the other, it is all from God, who wills that we should put in practice whatever he inspires to do, whether it be good or bad. According to this, then, the reformer's own maxim—of understanding the Scriptures, according to our private judgment—falls to the ground, for no matter what we do, or what erroneous or heretical interpretation we may give to Holy Writ, it is all an inspiration from God.

53.—The fourth absurdity—The whole Scriptures teach us that God leans much more to mercy and pardon than to justice and punishment: "All the ways of the Lord are mercy and truth" (Psalm xxiv, 10); "The earth is full of the mercy of the Lord. His tender mercies are above all his works" (Psalm cxliv, 9); "Mercy exalteth itself above judgment" (James, ii, 13).

The Almighty, therefore, superabounds in mercy, not alone to the just, but to sinners. The great desire He has to make us live well, and work out our salvation, is manifest from that passage so frequently repeated in the Gospel: "Ask and ye shall receive" (John, xvi, 24); "Ask and it shall be given to you" (Matt. vii, 7): "Every one that asketh receiveth" (Luke, xi, 10). To all he offers the treasures of enlightenment, of Divine love, of efficacious Grace, of final perseverance, and of eternal salvation, if we only pray for them. He is faithful, and cannot fail in his promises, and so, whoever is lost, is solely through his own fault. Calvin says the elect are few; these are Beza and his own disciples, and all others are reprobates, on whom God exercises his justice alone since he has predestined them to hell, and therefore deprives them of all grace, and incites them to sin. According to Calvin's doctrine, then, we should imagine the Almighty not as a God of mercy, but the most unjust and cruel of tyrants, since he wishes us to sin that he may torment us for all eternity. God, says Calvin, only acts thus to exercise his justice, but this is what all cruel tyrants do; they wish others to commit crimes, that by punishing them they may gratify their own cruel dispositions.

54.—The fifth absurdity—As man is obliged to sin, for God wishes that he should, and pushes him on, it is unjust to punish him, for as he is forced to sin he has no freedom, and therefore commits no sin; nay more, as he does the will of God, who wishes him to sin, he ought to be rewarded for conforming to the Divine will; how, then, can God punish him in justice? Beza says, the Apostle tells us that God "worketh all things according to the counsel of his will" (Ephes. i, 11). If every thing is done, then, by the will of God, sins, also, he says, are committed by his will. Beza, here, however, is in error; every thing except sin is done by the will of God. God does not wish sin, nor that any one should be lost through sin: "Is it my will that a sinner should die, saith the Lord?" (Ezech. xviii, 23); "Not willing that any should perish, but that all should rather do penance" (II. Peter, iii, 5). The Almighty wishes that we should all become Saints: "For it is the will of God your sanctification" (I.Thess. iv, 3.)

55.—The sixth absurdity--These sectarians say that God himself operates sins with us, and uses us as instruments for the accom-

plishment of sin, and hence Calvin, as we have already remarked, calls God the author of sin. This is condemned by the Council of Trent (*Sess.* vi, *can.* 6): "Si quis dixerit, non esse in potestate hominis vias suas malas facere, sed mala opera, ita ut bona, Deum operari; non permissive solum, sed etiam proprie, et per se, adeo ut sit proprium ejus opus, non minus proditio Judæ, quam vocatio Pauli; anathema sit." If God, then, be the author of sin, since he wishes it, and urges us on to commit it, and operates it with us, how is it that man sins, and God does not sin? When this difficulty was put to Zuinglius, he only answered: "Ask God himself; I am not one of his counsellors." When Calvin himself was asked: How is it that God condemns men for executing sin, when he himself operates it through their means; in every wicked work it is not the instrument but the operator who is culpable? and hence, if man sins alone as the instrument of God, it is not he but God who is culpable? he answered that "our carnal minds could not understand it" (9). Some sectaries answer this by saying that God does not sin by operating the sin, but man alone, for man does it for an evil end, but God for a good end, to wit, exercising his justice by punishing the sinner for his crime. But this answer will not excuse God, because, according to Calvin, the Almighty decrees and predestines man not alone to do the work of sin, but to do it with an evil end, for otherwise he could not punish him. Hence God is the true author of sin, and truly sins. Zuinglius gives another answer (10): Man, he says, sins because he acts against the law, but God does not sin, because he has no law; but this ridiculous answer is rejected by Calvin himself (11), who says, "we cannot suppose God without a law." And it stands to reason, for though no one can give a law to God, still his own goodness and justice are a law to him. Hence as sin is contrary to the law of nature, it is also opposed to the goodness of God, and he, therefore, never can will sin. Now, as Calvinists assert, that whatever a man does, good or bad, he does through necessity, for it is all the work of God, I would like to see if one broke another's head, and he asked him, Why do you strike me? and the other would answer, It is not I who strike you,

(9) Calvin. Inst. *l.* 1, *c.* 18, *s.* 1.
(10) Zuing. Serm. de Provident, *c.* 5.
(11) Calv. *l.* 3. *c.* 23. *s.* 2.

but God who makes me, and forces me to do so, would his co-religionist be satisfied with the excuse? What God are you talking about? he would say; away with such nonsense, it is you have done it, and I will punish you for it. Poor people! We hope they are not wilfully blind, for really it would appear that those who entertain such extravagant opinions must be so.

56.—The sectarians adduce several portions of Scripture to prove that God wishes, commands, and operates sins. He says, in Isaias, "I make peace, and create evil" (Isaias, xlv, 7); but Tertullian answers that there are two sorts of evil crimes and punishments. God performs punishments, but not crimes, for the crimes of the wicked, he says, belong to the devil, the punishments to God. When Absalom rebelled against his father, David, God wished the chastisement of David, but not the sin of Absalom. But, say they, we read in II. Kings, xvi, 10, that the Lord bid Semei "curse David," and in Ezech. xiv, 9, "I, the Lord, have deceived that Prophet"; in the 104th Psalm, ver. 25: "He turned their heart to hate his people;" and in St. Paul (II. Thess. ii, 10): "God shall send them the operation of error to believe lying." Behold then, say they, how God commands and operates sins. They do not, however, in these texts distinguish between the will of God and his permission. God, for his own just ends, permits that man may deceive or sin, either for the punishment of the wicked or for the advantage of the just, but he neither wishes nor operates sin. Tertullian (12) says, God is not the author nor the actor of sin, though he undoubtedly permits it. St. Ambrose (13) says he does what is good, but not what is evil, and St. Augustin (14) writes: He (God) knows how to condemn iniquity, but not to do it.

(12) Tertull. le cont. Hermog.
(13) St. Ambr. i. de Par. *c.* 15.
(14) St. Augus. *l.* 105, ad Sixtum.

§ VII.

GOD NEVER PREDESTINED ANY ONE TO ETERNAL DAMNATION WITHOUT REGARD TO HIS SINS.

57.—Calvin teaches that God has predestined many to eternal damnation, not because of their sins, but merely for his own pleasure. Here are his words (1): "Aliis vita æterna, aliis damnatio æterna præordinatur; itaque prout in alterutrum finem quisque conditus est, ita vel ad vitam, vel ad mortem prædestinatum dicimus," and the only reason he assigns for this predestination is the will of God (2): "Neque in aliis reprobandis aliud habebimus, quam ejus voluntatem." I can understand very well how the heretics embrace this doctrine, for they argue thus: I may commit whatever sins I please, without fear or remorse; for, if I am predestined to heaven, I will, notwithstanding, be infallibly saved, no matter what wickedness I commit; if I am among the reprobate I will be damned, no matter how virtuously I live. Cesarius tells a story of a certain physician who gave a very good answer to this argument, if it can be called one. A man of the name of Louis Landgrave got a mortal fit of sickness, and sent for this physician, who called on him, and asked him what he wanted with him. "I hope" said the sick man, "you will be able to restore me to health." "Oh," said the physician, "what can I do for you? If your hour is come you will die, no matter what remedies I may give you, but if not, you will recover, without any assistance from me." Remember this was the same answer the sick man had previously given to a person who reprimanded him in presence of the physician, for his wicked life. "If I am to be saved," said he, "I will be so, no matter how wicked I may be; and if I am to be damned, it will happen, no matter how good I am." "Oh," said the sick man, "do what you can for me, perhaps your skill will restore me, but if you do nothing for me I will surely die." The physician, then, who was

(1) Calvin. Inst. *l.* 1, *c.* 21, *sec.* 5. (2) Calvin, Inst. *l.* 1, *c.* 21. *s.* 5.

both a pious and prudent man, said to him: "If, then, you think that you can recover your bodily health with the assistance of medicine, why do not you try and restore your soul to health by a good confession?" The argument hit hard, the man sent immediately for a Confessor, and became a true penitent.

58.—We shall, however, give Calvin a direct answer. If you are predestined to eternal life, it is because you will be saved by the good works you perform, at least that your predestination may be carried out, but if you are destined to hell it is on account of your sins, and not through the mere will of God, as you blasphemously assert. Forsake, then, your evil ways; do what is just, and you will be saved. Nothing can be more false than the supposition of Calvin, that God created many men for hell alone. Numberless passages in the Scriptures prove most clearly that it is his will that all should be saved. St. Paul most expressly says (I. Tim. ii, 4), that he will "have all men to be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth;" and, as St. Prosper says, speaking of this passage, nothing can be clearer than that it is the will of God that all should be saved: "Sacrificium credendum atque profitendum est Dominum velle omnes hominus salvos fieri, siquidem Apostolus (cujus hæc sententia est) sollicite præcipit ut Deo pro omnibus supplicetur" (3). This is clear from the context, for the Apostle says: "I desire first of all that supplications.....be made for all men.....for this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour, who will have all men to be saved," &c. So we see the Apostle tells us to pray for all, since God wishes to save all. St. John Chrysostom argues in the same manner on the same text (4): "Si omnes Ille vult salvos fieri, merito pro omnibus oportet orare. Si omnes ipse salvos fieri cupit, Illius et tu concorda voluntate." St. Paul, speaking of our Saviour, also says: "Christ Jesus, who gave himself a redemption for all" (I. Tim. ii, 6). If, then, Jesus Christ wished to redeem all men, then he wills that all men should be saved.

59.—But, says Calvin, God certainly foresees the good and bad actions of every man; he has, therefore, decreed to send some to hell on account of their sins, and how, then, can it be

(3) St. Prosper. Resp. ad 2. Object. Vin. (4) St. Chrysos. in 1, Tim. 2, Hom. 7.

said that he wills that all should be saved? We answer, with St. John of Damascus, St. Thomas of Aquin, and the great body of Catholic Doctors, that with regard to the reprobation of sinners, it is necessary to distinguish between the priority of time and the priority of order, or, if we may say, of reason. In priority of time, the Divine Decree is anterior to man's sin; but in priority of order, sin is anterior to the Divine Decree; for God has decreed many sinners to hell, inasmuch as he has foreseen their sins. Hence we may see that God, with that antecedent will which regards his goodness, truly wills that all should be saved, but by that consequent will which regards the sins of the reprobate, he wishes their damnation. Hear the words of St. John of Damascus on the subject (5): "Deus precedentur vult omnes salvari, ut efficiat nos bonitatis suæ participes ut bonus; peccantes autem puniri vult ut justus;" and St. Thomas says: "Voluntas antecedens est, qua (Deus) omnes homines salvos fieri vult.....Consideratis autem omnibus circumstantiis personæ, sic non invenitur de omnibus bonum esse quod salventur; bonum enim est eum qui se præparat, et consentit, salvari; non vero nolentem, et resistentem.....Et hæc dicitur voluntas consequens, eo quod præsupponit præscientiam operum, non tanquam causam voluntatis, sed quasi rationem voliti" (6).

60.—There are many other texts to prove that God wills the salvation of all. I will quote at least a few. Christ says: "Come to me, all you that labour and are burthened, and I will refresh you" (Matt. xi, 28). Come, he says, all you burthened with your sins, and I will repair the ruin you yourselves have occasioned. When, therefore, he invites all to accept a remedy, he wishes that all should be saved. In another place St. Peter says, the Lord "dealeth patiently for your sake, not willing that any should perish, but that all should return to penance" (II. Peter, iii, 9). Mark this, "that all should return to penance." God does not wish that any one should be damned, even sinners, while in this life, but that all should repent of their sins, and be saved. Again, in another place, David says: "For wrath is in his indignation, and life in his *good* will" (Psalm xxix, 6). St. Basil, explaining this passage, says, that it proves that God wishes all men to be

(5) St. Joan. Damas. *l.* 2, de Fide. Orthod. *c.* 2.

(6) St. Thom. cap. 6, Joan. lec. 4.

saved: "Et vita in voluntate ejus, quid ergo dicit? nimirum quod vult Deus omnes vitæ fieri participes." Although we offend God by our sins, he does not wish our death, but that we should live. In the book of Wisdom (xi, 25), we read: "Thou lovest all things that are, and hatest none of the things thou hast made.....thou sparest all, because they are thine, O Lord, who lovest souls." If, therefore, God loves all his creatures, and especially the souls he created, and is always ready to pardon those who repent of their sins, how can we imagine, for a moment, that he creates souls solely for the purpose of tormenting them eternally in hell? No; God does not wish to see them lost, but saved, and when he sees that we are hurrying to eternal torments, by our sins, he almost implores us to retrace our steps, and avoid destruction: "Turn ye, turn ye from your evil ways, and why will you die, O house of Israel" (Ezech. xxxiii, 11). Poor sinners, he says, why will you persevere in damning yourselves; return to me, and you will find again the life which you lost. Hence it was, that our Saviour, viewing Jerusalem, and considering the destruction the Jews were bringing on it, by the crime of putting him to death, "wept over it" (Luke, xix, 41). In another place he declares that he does not wish the death of the sinner, and even swears so: "As I live, saith the Lord God, I desire not the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his evil way, and live" (Ezech. xxxiii, 11).

61.—Now, taking into account so many Scripture proofs, by which God tells us that he wishes to save all mankind, it is, as the learned Petavius says, an insult to the Divine Mercy, and a mockery of the Faith, to say that God does not wish that it should be so: "Quod si ista Scripturæ loca, quibus hanc suam voluntatem tam illustribus, ac sæpe repetitis sententiis, imo lacrymis, ac jurejurando testatus est Deus, calumniari licet, et in contrarium detorquere sensum, ut præter paucos Genus humanum omne perdere statuerit, nec eorum servandorum voluntatem habuerit, quid est adeo disertum in Fidei decretis, quod simili ab injuria, et cavillatione tutum esse possit" (7). Cardinal Sfrondati adds, that to assert the contrary, that God wishes only some few to be saved, and has absolutely decreed that all the rest

(7) Petav. Theol. *t.* 1, *l.* 10, *c.* 15, *n.* 5.

should be damned, when he has so often manifested that he wishes all to be saved, is only making him an actor, who says one thing, and wishes and performs another: "Plane qui aliter sentiunt, nescio an ex Deo vero Deum scenicum faciant" (8). All the Fathers, both Greek and Latin, are agreed in this, that God sincerely wishes that all should be saved. Petavius cites St. Justin, St. Basil, St. Gregory, St. Cyril, St. Chrysostom, and St. Methodius, on the subject. Hear what the Latin Fathers say. St. Jerom: "Vult (Deus) salvare omnes, sed quia nullus absque propria voluntate salvatur, vult nos bonum velle, ut cum voluerimus, velit in nobis et Ipse suum implere consilium" (9). St. Hilary says (10): "Omnes homines Deus salvos fierit vult, et non eos tantum qui ad Sanctorum numerum pertinebunt, sed omnes omnino, ut nullus habeat exceptionem." St. Paulinus (11) thus writes: "Omnibus dicit Christus, venite ad me, &c., omnem enim quantum in Ipso est, hominem salvum fieri vult, qui fecit omnes." St. Ambrose says (12): "Etiam circa impios suam ostendere debuit voluntatem, et ideo nec proditorem debuit præterire, ut adverterent omnes, quod in electione etiam proditoris sui salvandorum omnium prætendit.....et quod in Deo fuit, ostendit omnibus, quod omnes voluit liberare." I omit all other proofs from the Fathers, as they are too numerous, but as Petrocoresius well remarks, the Divine precept of hope assures us that God truly, on his part, wishes all to be saved; for if we were not certain that God wishes all to be saved, our hope would not be secure and firm, as St. Paul tells us, "an anchor of the soul sure and firm" (Heb. vi, 18, 19), but weak and doubtful: "Qua fiducia," he says, "Divinam misericordiam sperare poterunt homines, si certum non sit quod Deus salutem omnium eorum velit" (13) I have expounded this argument in my Work on Prayer (14).

62.—Calvin, however, says that, by the sin of Adam, the whole human race became a "condemned mass;" and hence God does no injury to mankind, if he only saves a few, and allows

(8) Nodus Præd. Par. 1.
(9) St. Hier. Comment. in *c.* 1, ad Ephesios.
(10) St. Hilar. Ep. ad Aug.
(11) St. Paulin. Ep. 24, ad Sever.*n*.9.
(12) St. Ambr. de Libro Parad. *c.* 8.
(13) Petrocor. Theol. *t.* 1, *c.* 3, *q.* 4.
(14) Mezzo della Preghiera Par. 2, *c.* 4.

the rest to be damned, if not for their own sins, at all events, for the sin of Adam. But we answer, that it is this very "condemned mass" itself, that Jesus Christ came to save by his death: "For the Son of Man is come to save that which was lost" (Matt. xviii, 11). He offered up his death, not alone for those who were to be saved, but for all, without exception: "He gave himself a redemption for all" (I. Tim. ii, 6); "Christ died for all" (I. Cor. v, 15); "We hope in the living God, who is the Saviour of all men, especially of the faithful" (I. Tim. iv, 10). And even St. Paul, to show that we were all dead by sin, says that Christ died for all: "The charity of Christ presseth us.....if one died for all, then all were dead" (II. Cor. v, 14). Hence, St. Thomas says, Christ is the mediator, not of some, but of all: "Christus Jesus est mediator Dei, et hominum, non quorundam, sed inter Deum et omnes homines; et hoc non esset, nisi vellet omnes salvare" (15).

63.—If, God, however, wishes that all should be saved, and Christ died for all, how then is it, St. Chrysostom asks, that all are not saved? He answers the question himself: Because all will not act in conformity with the will of God, who wishes that all should be saved, but, at the same time, will not force any one's will: "Cur igitur non omnes salvi fiunt, si vult (Deus) omnes salvos esse? quoniam non omnium voluntas Illius voluntatem sequitur, porro Ipse neminem cogit (16). And St. Augustin (17) says: "Bonus est Deus, justus est Deus; potest aliquos sine bonis meritis liberare, quia bonus est, non potest quenquam sine malis meritis damnare, quia justus est." Even the Lutheran Centuriators of Magdeburg, speaking of the reprobate, confess that the Holy Fathers have taught that God does not predestine sinners to hell, but condemns them, on account of the foreknowledge he has of their sins: "Patres nec prædestinationem in eo Dei, sed præscientiam solum admiserunt" (18). But, says Calvin, God, although he predestines many to eternal death, still does not insist on the punishment until after they have sinned; and, therefore, he first predestines the reprobates to sin, that he may, in justice, condemn them afterwards. But if it would be an act

(15) St. Thom. ad I. Tim. ii, *lect.* 1.
(16) St. Chrysos. Hom. 43, de Longitud. prem.
(17) St. Augus. *l.* 3, contra Julian, *c.* 18.
(18) Centuriat. 102, *c.* 4.

of injustice to send the innocent to hell, would it not be much more so to predestine them first to sin, that they may be subsequently damned. "Major vero injustitia," says St. Fulgentius, "si lapso Deus retribuit pœnam, quam stantem prædestinasse dicitur ad ruinam" (19).

64.—The truth is, that those who are lost are so through their own negligence, since, as St. Thomas writes, our Lord gives to all the necessary Grace for salvation: "Hoc ad Divinam providentiam pertinet, ut cuilibet provideat de necessariis ad salutem" (20). And in another place, explaining the text of St. Paul, that God wishes all men to be saved, he says: "Et ideo gratia nulli deest, sed omnibus (quantam in se est) se communicat" (21). God himself has said the self-same thing, by the mouth of the Prophet Osee, that, if we are lost, it is altogether through our own fault, for he gives us sufficient assistance to work out our salvation: "Destruction is thine own, O Israel; thy help is only in me" (Osee, xiii, 9); and, therefore, it is that the Apostle says, that God will not allow us to be tempted beyond our strength: "God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that which you are able" (I. Cor. x, 13). It would, indeed, be both wicked and cruel of God, as St. Thomas and St. Augustin say, if he, as Calvin teaches, obliged men to observe commandments which he knew they could not: "Peccati reum," says St. Augustin, "tenere quenquam, quia non fecit quod facere non potuit, summa iniquitas est" (22). And St. Thomas says: "Homini imputatur ad crudelitatem, si obliget aliquem per præceptum ad id quod implere non possit; ergo de Deo nullatenus est æstimandum" (23). It is quite otherwise, however, the Saint says, when the sinner, on account of his own negligence, has not Grace to observe the commandments (24). This negligence is carelessness in availing ourselves of, at least, the remote Grace of Prayer, by which we may obtain proximate Grace to observe the commandments, as the Council of Trent teaches: "Deus impossibilia non jubet, sed jubendo monet, et

(19) St. Fulgent. *l.* 1, ad Monim. *c.* 24.
(20) St. Thom. *quæst.* 14, de Verit. *art.* 11, ad 1.
(21) Idem in Epist. ad Hebr. *c.* 12, *lect.* 3.
(22) St. Aug. de Anima, *l.* 2, *c.* 12, *n.* 17.
(23) St. Thom. in 2, Sent. Dist. 28, *qu.* 1, *a.* 3.
(24) Idem, *ques.* 24, de Verit. *a.* 14, ad 2.

facere quod possis, et petere quod non possis et adjuvat ut possis" (*Sess* vi, *c.* 13).

65.—Hence, we conclude, with St. Ambrose, our Saviour has manifested to us most clearly that, although all men are infirm and guilty, still he has provided a sufficient remedy for their salvation: "Omnibus opem sanitatis detulit.....ut Christi manifesta in omnes prædicetur misericordia qui omnes homines vult salvos fieri" (25). What greater felicity can a sick man have, says St. Augustin, than to have his life in his own hands, having always a remedy to heal himself whenever he pleases? "Quid enim te beatius quam ut tanquam in manu tua vitam, sic in voluntate tua sanitatem habeas" (26)? Hence, St. Ambrose again says, that he who is lost is guilty of his own death, since he will not make use of the remedy prepared for him: "Quicumque perierit mortis suæ causam sibi adscribat qui curari noluit cum remedium haberet." For, as St. Augustin says, our Lord heals all, and heals them perfectly, as far as he is concerned, but will not heal him who refuses to be healed: "Quantum in medico est sanare venit ægrotum.....Sanat omnino, Ille sed non sanat invitum" (27). Finally, says St. Isidore of Pelusium, God wishes, by every means, to assist sinners to save themselves, and, therefore, in the day of judgment, they will find no excuse for their condemnation: "Etenim serio et modis omnibus (Deus) vult eos adjuvare qui in vitio volutantur ut omnem eis excusationem eripiat" (28).

66.—Calvin, however, objects to all this, first, several texts of Scripture, in which it is said that God himself hardens the hearts of sinners, and blinds them, so that they cannot see the way of salvation: "I shall harden his heart" (Exod. iv, 21); "Blind the heart of this people" (Isaias, vi, 10). But St. Augustin explains these and similar texts, by saying that God hardens the hearts of the obstinate, by not dispensing to them that Grace, of which they have rendered themselves unworthy, but not by infusing wickedness into them, as Calvin teaches: "Indurat subtrahendo gratiam non impendendo malitiam" (29); and it is thus, also, he

(25) Ambro. *l.* 2, de Abel. *c.* 3.
(26) St. Augus. *trac.* 12, in Joan, cir. fin.
(27) Idem.
(28) St. Isid. Pelus. *l.* 2, Ep. 270.
(29) St. Augus. Ep. 194, ad Sixtum.

blinds them: "Excecat Deus deserendo non adjuvando" (30). It is one thing to harden and blind men, but quite another thing to permit them, as God does, for just reasons, to become blind and obstinate. We give the same answer to that saying of St. Peter to the Jews, when he reproached them for putting Christ to death: "This same being, delivered up by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God, you, by the hands of wicked men, have crucified and slain" (Acts, ii, 23). When they say, therefore, that it was by the counsel of God that the Jews put our Saviour to death, we answer, that God, indeed, decreed the death of Christ, for the salvation of the world, but he merely permitted the sin of the Jews.

67.—Calvin objects, in the second place, these expressions of the Apostle (Rom. ix, 11, &c.): "For when the children were not yet born, nor had done any good or evil (that the purpose of God according to election might stand), not of works, but of him that calleth, it was said to her: *The elder shall serve the younger.* As it is written: *Jacob I have loved, but Esau I have hated.*" And then he quotes, further on in the same chapter: "So then it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that showeth mercy." And again: "Therefore, he hath mercy on whom he will; and whom he will he hardeneth." And, finally: "Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump, to make one vessel unto honour, and another unto dishonour?" I cannot, understand, however, how these passages favour Calvin's doctrines. The text of St. Paul says, "Jacob I have loved, but Esau I have hated," after having first said that they had not yet done any good or evil. How, then, could God hate Esau before he had done anything wicked? St. Augustin (31) answers: "God did not hate Esau as a man, but as a sinner. No one can deny that it does not depend on our will, but on the goodness of God, to obtain the Divine Mercy, and that God leaves some sinners hardened in their sins, and makes them vessels of dishonour, and uses mercy towards others, and makes them vessels of honour. No sinner can glorify himself, if God uses mercy towards him, nor complain of the Almighty, if he does not give him the same Grace as he gives to others.

(30) Idem, Tract. in Joan. (31) St. Augus. Ep. 194, ad Sixtum.

"Auxilium," says St. Augustin, "quibuscumque datur, misericordia datur; quibus autem non datur, ex justitia non datur" (32). In all that, we must only adore the Divine Judgments, and say, with the Apostle: "O, the depth of the riches, of the wisdom, and of the knowledge of God. How incomprehensible are his judgments, and how unsearchable his ways" (Rom. xi, 33). But all that does not, in the least, strengthen Calvin's position, for he says that God predestines man to hell, and that he first predestines him to sin; but this is not the case, as St. Fulgentius (33) says: "Potuit Deus prædestinare quosdam ad gloriam, quosdam ad pœnam, sed quos prædestinavit ad gloriam, prædestinavit ad justitiam; quos prædestinavit ad pœnum, non prædestinavit ad culpam." Some charged St. Augustin with the same error, and, therefore, Calvin says: "Non dubitabo cum Augustino fateri, voluntatem Dei esse rerum necessitatem"—that is, the necessity a man has to perform what is either good or bad (34). St. Prosper, however, clears his venerable master from this charge: "Prædestinationem Dei sive ad bonum, sive ad malum in hominibus operari, ineptissime dicitur" (35). The Fathers of the Council of Oranges also defended St. Augustin: "Aliquos ad malum Divina potestate prædestinatos esse, non solum non credimus, sed etiam si sint qui tantum malum credere velint, cum omni detestatione illis anathema dicimus."

68.—Calvin objects, in the third place—Do not you Catholics teach that God, by the supreme dominion he has over all creatures, can exclude, by a positive act, some from eternal life: is not this the "Negative Reprobation" defended by your theologians? We answer, that it is quite one thing to exclude some from eternal life, and another to condemn them to everlasting death, as it is one thing for a Sovereign to exclude some of his subjects from his table, and another to condemn them to prison; and, besides all, our theologians do not teach this opinion—the greater part reject it. Indeed, for my own part, I cannot understand how this positive exclusion from everlasting life can be in conformity with the Scripture, which says: "Thou lovest all things that are, and hatest none of the things which thou hast

(32) St. Aug. *l.* de Correpț. et Grat. *c.* 5 & 6, ad 1.
(33) St. Fulgen. *l.* 1, ad Monim. *c.* 16.
(34) Calvin, *l.* 3, *c.* 21, *sec.* 7.
(35) St. Prosp. in libell. ad Capit. Gallor. *c.* 6.

made" (Wisdom, xi, 25); "Destruction is thy own, O Israel; thy help is only in me" (Osee, xiii, 9); "Is it my will that a sinner should die, saith the Lord God, and not that he should be converted from his ways, and live" (Ezech. xviii, 23). And in another place our Lord even swears that he does not wish the death, but the life of the sinner: "As I live, saith the Lord God, I desire not the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live" (Ezech. xxxiii, 11); "For the Son of man is come to save that which was lost" (Matt. xviii, 11); "Who wishes all men to be saved" (I. Tim. ii, 4); "Who gave himself a redemption for all" (*ver.* 6).

69.—Now, when our Lord declares in so many places that he wishes the salvation of all, and even of the wicked, how can it be said, that by a positive decree he excludes many from glory, not because of their crimes, but merely for his own pleasure, when this positive exclusion necessarily involves, at least *necessitate consequentiæ*, positive damnation; for, according to the order established by God, there is no medium between exclusion from eternal life and condemnation to everlasting death. Neither will it serve to say, that all men, by original sin, have become a condemned mass; and God, therefore, determines that some should remain in their perdition, and others be saved; for although we know that all are born children of wrath, still we are also aware that God, by an antecedent will, really wishes that all should, through means of Jesus Christ, be saved. Those who are baptized, and in a state of grace, have even a greater claim, for in them, as St. Paul says, there is found nothing worthy of damnation: "There is now, therefore, no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus" (Rom. viii, 1). And the Council of Trent teaches, that in such God finds nothing to hate: "In renatis enim nihil odit Deus" (*Sess.* V., *Decret. de Pec. Orig. n.* 5). Those who die, then, after Baptism, free from actual sin, go at once to the joys of heaven: "Nihil prorsus eos ab ingressu cœli removetur" (*Ibid*). Now, if God entirely remits original sin to those who are baptized, how can it be asserted, that on account of it he afterwards excludes some of them from eternal life? That God, however, may wish to free from eternal and deserved damnation some of those who voluntarily have lost their baptismal Grace by mortal sin, and leave others to their

fate, is a matter which entirely depends on his own will, and his just judgments. But even of these, St. Peter says God does not wish, as long as they are in this life, that one should perish, but should repent of his wickedness, and be saved: "He dealeth patiently for your sake, not willing that any should perish, but that all should return to penance" (II. Peter, iii, 9). Finally, St. Prosper says, that those who die in sin are not necessarily lost, because they are not predestined; but they were not predestined, inasmuch as God foresaw that they wished to die obstinately in sin: "Quod hujusmodi in hæc prolapsi mala, sine correctione pœnitentiæ defecerunt, non ex eo necessitatem habuerunt, quia prædestinati non sunt, sed ideo prædestinati non sunt; quia tales futuri ex voluntaria prævaricatione præsciti sunt" (36).

70.—From all we have already written on this subject, we see how confused are all heretics, but especially the pretended Reformers, with the dogmas of Faith. They are all united in opposing the dogmas taught by the Catholic Church, but they afterwards contradict each other in a thousand points of belief among themselves, and it is difficult to find one who believes the same as another. They say that they are only seeking for and following the truth; but how can they find the truth, if they cast away the rule of truth? The truths of the Faith were not manifested of themselves to all men, so that if every one was bound to believe that which pleased his own judgment best, there would be no end to disputes. Hence, our Lord, to remove all confusion regarding the dogmas of Faith, has given us an infallible judge to put an end to all disputes, and as there is but one God, so there is but one Faith: "One faith, one baptism, one God" (Ephes. iv, 5).

71.—Who, then, is this judge who puts an end to all controversies regarding Faith, and tells us what we are to believe? It is the Church established by God, as the pillar and the ground of truth: "That thou mayest know how thou ought to behave thyself in the house of God, which is the Church of the living God, the pillar and the ground of the truth." The voice of the Church, then, it is which teaches the truth, and distinguishes the Catholic from the heretic, as our Lord says, speaking of him who

(36) St. Prosper, Res. 3 ad Capit. Gallor.

contemns the correction of his pastor: "If he will not hear the Church, let him be to thee as the heathen and the publican" (Matt. xviii, 17). Perhaps, however, some will say: Among the many Churches in the world, which is the true one—which is it we are to believe? I briefly answer—having treated the subject at length in my Work on the Truth of the Faith, and also in the Dogmatic part of this Work—that the only true Church is the Roman Catholic, for this is the first founded by Jesus Christ. It is certain that our Redeemer founded the Church in which the faithful may find salvation; he it was who taught us what we should believe and practise to obtain eternal life. After his death, he committed to the Apostles, and their successors, the government of his Church, promising to assist them, and to be with them all time, "even to the consummation of the world" (Matt. xxviii, 20). He also promised that the gates of hell should never prevail against it: "Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it" (Matt. xvi, 18). Now, every heresiarch, in founding his Church, separated himself from this first Church founded by Jesus Christ; and if this was the true Church of our Saviour, all the others are, necessarily, false and heretical.

72.—It will not do to say, as the Donatists did of old, and the Protestants in later times, that they have separated themselves from the Church, because although in the beginning it was the true one, still, through the fault of those who governed it, the doctrine preached by Jesus Christ became corrupted, for he, as we have seen, has promised that the gates of hell should never prevail against the Church he founded. Neither will it avail them to say that it was only the visible, and not the invisible Church that failed, on account of the wickedness of the shepherds, for it is necessary that there should always be a visible and infallible judge in the Church, to decide all doubts, that disputes may be quashed, and the dogmas of Faith be secure and certain. I wish every Protestant would consider this, and see how he can be certain, then, of his salvation outside the Holy Catholic Church.

§ VIII.

THE AUTHORITY OF GENERAL COUNCILS.

73.—There can be only one Faith, for as Faith and truth are indivisibly united, and as truth is one, so Faith must be one likewise. Hence, we conclude, as we have already shown, that in all controversies regarding the dogmas of Faith it has always been, and is always necessary to have, an infallible judge, whose decisions all should obey. The reason of this is manifest, for if the judgment of every one of the faithful was to be taken on this matter, as the sectaries expect, it would not be alone opposed to the Scriptures, as we shall see, but to reason itself, for it would be quite impossible to unite the opinions of all the faithful, and give from them a distinct and definitive judgment in dogmas of Faith, and there would be endless disputes, and, instead of unity of Faith, there would be as many creeds as persons. Neither is the Scripture alone sufficient to assure us of the truth of what we should believe, for several passages of it can be interpreted in different senses, both true and false, so that the Bible will be, for those who take it in a perverse sense, not a rule of Faith, but a fountain of errors; the Gospel, as St. Jerome says, will become, not the Gospel of Christ, but the Gospel of man, or of the devil: "Non putemus in verbis Scripturarum esse Evangelium sed in sensu, interpretatione enim perversa de Evangelio Christi fit hominis Evangelium aut diaboli." Where, in fact, can we look for the true sense of the Scriptures, only in the judgment of the Church, the pillar and the ground of truth, as the Apostle calls it?

74.—That the Roman Catholic Church is the only true one, and that the others who have separated from it are false, is manifest from what we have already seen; for, as the sectaries themselves admit, the Roman Catholic Church has been certainly first founded by Jesus Christ. He promised to assist it to the end of time, and the gates of hell, that is, as St. Epiphanius explains it, heretics and founders of heresies, will never prevail

against it, as was promised to St. Peter. Hence, in all doubts of Faith, we should bow to the decisions of this Church, subjecting our judgment to her judgment, in obedience to Christ, who, as St. Paul tells us, commands us to obey the Church: "Bring into captivity every understanding unto the obedience of Christ" (II. Cor. x, 5).

75.—The Church, then, teaches us through General Councils, and hence, the perpetual tradition of all the faithful has always held as infallible the Definitions of General Councils, and considered as heretics those who refused obedience to them. Such have been the Lutherans and Calvinists, who have denied the infallibility of General Councils. Here are Luther's own words, taken from the thirtieth article of the forty-one condemned by Leo X. (1): "Via nobis facta est enervandi auctoritatem Conciliorum, et judicandi eorum Decreta, et confidenter confitendi quidquid verum videtur, sive prolatum fuerit, sive reprobatum a quocunque Concilio." Calvin said the same thing, and the followers of both heresiarchs have adopted their opinion. We know, especially, that Calvin and Beza both said, that no matter how holy a Council might be, still it may err in matters appertaining to Faith (2). The Faculty of Paris, however, censuring the thirtieth article of Luther, declared the contrary: "Certum est, Concilium Generale legitime congregatum in Fidei et morum determinationibus errare non posse." How, in fact, can we deny infallibility to General Councils, when we know that they represent the whole Church? for, if they could err in matters of Faith, the whole Church could err, and the infidels might say, then, that God had not provided sufficiently for the unity of Faith, as he was bound to do, when he wished that all should profess the same Faith.

76.—Hence, we are bound to believe, that in matters relating to the dogmas of Faith, and to moral precepts, General Councils cannot err, and this is proved, in the first place, from Scripture. Christ says: "Where there are two or three gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them" (Matt. xviii, 20). But then, says Calvin, according to that a Council of two persons assembled in the name of God cannot err. The Council of Chal-

(1) Luther, lib. de Concil. *ar.* 28, 29.

(2) Joan Vysembogard. Ep. ad Lud. Colin.

cedon, however (*Act.* 3, *in fine*), in the Epistle to Pope St. Leo, and the Sixth Synod (*Act.* 17), had previously disposed of this objection, by explaining that the words, "in my name," show that this cannot be applied to a meeting of private persons assembled to discuss matters regarding their own private interests, but a meeting of persons congregated to decide on points regarding the whole society of Christendom. It is proved, secondly, by the words of St. John: "When he, the Spirit of Truth, is come, he will teach you all truth" (John, xvi, 13). And previously, in the 14th chap. 16th verse, he says: "I will ask the Father, and he shall give you another Paraclete, that he may abide with you for ever: the Spirit of Truth." Now the expression, "that he may abide with you for ever," clearly shows that the Holy Ghost continually abides in the Church, to teach the truths of the Faith, not alone to the Apostles, who, being mortal, could not remain always with us, but to the Bishops, their successors. Unless, then, in this congregation of Bishops, we do not know where the Holy Ghost teaches these truths.

77.—It is proved, also, from the promises made by our Saviour always to assist his Church, that it may not err: "Behold, I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world" (Matt. xxviii, 20); "And I say to thee, thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it" (Matt. xvi, 18). A General Council, as has been said already, and as the Eighth Synod (*Act.* 5) declared, represents the universal Church; and, hence, this interrogatory was put to all suspected of heresy in the Council of Constance: "An non credunt Concilium Generale universam Ecclesiam repræsentare?" And St. Athanasius, St. Epiphanius, St. Cyprian, St. Augustin, and St. Gregory, teach the same thing (3). If, therefore, the Church, as it has been proved, cannot err, neither can the Council which represents the Church fall into error. It is proved, besides, from those texts in which the faithful are commanded to obey the Prelates of the Church: "Obey your Prelates, and be subject to them" (Heb. xiii, 17); "Who hears you, hears me" (Luke, x, 16); "Go, therefore, teach all nations"

(3) St. Athanas. Ep. de Synod. Arim. St. Epiphan. An. at. in fin.; St. Cyprian, *l.* 4, Ep. 9; St. Augus. *l.* 1, contra at. *c.* 18; St. Greg. Ep. 24 ad Patriarch.

(Matt. xxviii, 19). These prelates, separately, may fall into error, and frequently disagree with each other on controverted points, and, therefore, we should receive what they tell us as infallible, and as coming from Christ himself, when they are united in Council. On this account the Holy Fathers have always considered as heretics those who contradicted the dogmas defined by General Councils, as the reader may see, by consulting St. Gregory of Nazianzen, St. Basil, St. Cyril, St. Ambrose, St. Athanasius, St. Augustin, and St. Leo (4).

78.—Besides all these proofs, there is another, that if General Councils could err, there would be no established tribunal in the Church, to terminate disputes about points of dogma, and to preserve the unity of the Faith, and if they were not infallible in their judgments, no heresy could be condemned, nor could we say it was a heresy at all. We could not be certain either of the canonicity of several books of the Scripture, as the Epistle of St. Paul to the Hebrews, the Second Epistle of St. Peter, the Third Epistle of St. John, the Epistles of St. James and St. Jude, and the Apocalypse of St. John; for, although the Calvinists receive all these, still they are considered doubtful by others, because they were not declared canonical by the Fourth Council. Finally, we may add, that if Councils could err, they committed an intolerable error in proposing, as Articles of Faith, matters, which they could not assert were true or false; and thus the Creeds of Nice, of Constantinople, of Ephesus, and of Chalcedon, would fall to the ground, in which several dogmas were declared, which before were not held as such, and still these four General Councils are received as Rules of Faith by the Innovators themselves. We have now to consider their numerous and importunate objections.

79.—First, Calvin objects (5) several passages of the Scriptures, in which the Prophets, Priests, and Pastors, are called ignorant and liars: "From the Prophet to the Priest, all deal deceitfully" (Jer. viii, 10); "His watchmen are all blind..... the shepherds themselves know no understanding" (Isaias, lvi,

(4) St. Greg. Nazianz. Ep. ad Cledon.; St. Basil, Ep. 78; St. Cyril. de Trinit.; St. Ambr. Ep. 32; St. Athan. Ep. ad Episc. Afric.; St. Aug. *l.* 1, de Bapt. *c.* 18; St. Leo, Ep. 77, ad Anatol.

(5) Calv. Inst. *l.* 4, *c.* 9, *sec.* 3.

10, 11). We answer, that frequently in the Scriptures, because some are wicked, all are reprimanded, as St. Augustin (6) says, explaining that passage (Phil. ii, 21): "All seek the things that are their own, and not the things that are Jesus Christ's." But the Apostles surely did not seek the things which were their own; they sought solely the glory of God, and, therefore, St. Paul calls on the Philippians, and tells them: "Be followers of me, brethren, and observe them who walk, so as you have our model" (Phil. iii, 17). We should, besides, remember that the texts quoted, speak of Priests and Prophets divided among themselves, and deceiving the people, and not of those of who speak to us, assembled in the name of God. Besides, the Church of the New Testament has received surer promises than did the Synagogue of old, which was never called "The Church of the living God, the pillar and the firmament of truth" (I. Tim. iii, 15). Calvin, however, says (7), that even in the New Law there are many false prophets and deceivers, as St. Matthew (xxiv, 11) tells us: "Many false prophets shall arise, and seduce many." This is also true; but he ought to apply this text to himself, and Luther, and Zuinglius, and not to the Ecumenical Councils of Bishops, to whom the assistance of the Holy Ghost is promised, and who can say: "It hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us" (Acts, xv, 28).

80.—Calvin objects, secondly, the iniquity of the Council of Caiphas, which, withal, was a general one, composed of the Princes and Priests, and still condemned Jesus Christ as guilty of death (Matt. xxvi, 66). Therefore, he says, even General Councils are fallible. We reply, that we call infallible those legitimate General Councils alone, at which the Holy Ghost assists; but how can we call that Council either legitimate, or assisted by the Holy Ghost, in which Christ was condemned as a blasphemer, for attesting that he was the Son of God, after so many proofs given by him that he was really so—whose proceedings were all based on false testimony, suborned for the purpose, and which was governed by envy alone, as even Pilate knew: "For he knew that for envy they had delivered him" (Matt. xxvii, 18).

(6) St. Aug. de Unit. Eccl. *c.* 11. (7) Calvin, loc. cit. *sec.* 4.

81.—Luther objects, thirdly (in *art.* 29), that, in the Council of Jerusalem, St. James changed the sentence given by St. Peter, who decided that the Gentiles were not bound to the observance of the precepts of the Law; but St. James said that they should abstain from meats offered to idols, from things suffocated, and from blood, and this was forcing them to a Jewish observance. We answer, with St. Augustin and St. Jerome (8), that this prohibition does not subvert the decision of St. Peter; nor, properly speaking, was it an imposition of the precepts of the Old Law, but a mere temporary precept of discipline, to satisfy the Jews, who could not bear just then, at the beginning of Christianity, to see the Gentiles eating blood and meats abhorred by them. It was, however, only a simple command, which fell into disuse, when the time passed away it was intended for, as St. Augustin remarks (9).

82.—They object, fourthly, that in the Council of Neocesrea, received by the First Council of Nice, as the Council of Florence attests, second marriages were condemned: "Presbyterum convivio secundarum Nuptiarum interesse non debere." But how, say they, could such a prohibition be given, when St. Paul says: "If her husband should die, she is at liberty; let her marry to whom she will, only in the Lord" (I. Cor. vii, 39). We answer that, in the Council of Neocesarea, second marriages are not forbidden, but only the solemn celebration of them, and the banquets which were usual at first marriages alone; and, therefore, it was forbidden to the Priests to attend, not at the marriage, but at the banquets, which were a part of the solemnity. Fifthly, Luther objects that the Council of Nice prohibited the profession of arms, although St. John the Baptist (Luke, iii, 14) held it as lawful. We answer, that the Council did not prohibit the profession of arms, but forbid the soldiers to sacrifice to idols, to obtain the belt, or military distinction, which, as Ruffinus (10) tells us, was only given to those who offered sacrifice; and it is these alone the Council condemned in the Second Canon. Sixthly, Luther objects that this same Council ordained that the Paulinians should be re-baptized, while another Council, which

(8) St. Augus. *l.* 32, contra Faust. *c.* 13; St. Hier. Ep. ad Aug. quæ est 11, inter Epist. August.

(9) St. Aug. loc. cit.

(10) Ruffin. Histor. *l.* 10, *c.* 32.

St. Augustin calls Plenary, and which is believed to have been the Council celebrated by the whole French Church in Arles, prohibited the re-baptism of heretics, as the Pope St. Stephen commanded, in opposition to St. Cyprian. We answer, that the Council commanded that the Paulinians should be re-baptized, for those heretics, believing Christ to be but a mere man, corrupted the form of Baptism, and did not baptize in the name of the three Persons, and, therefore, their Baptism was null and void. But this was not the case with other heretics, who baptized in the name of the Trinity, though they did not believe that the three Persons were equally God.

83.—The innovators object, eighthly, that in the Third Council of Carthage (*Can.* 47), the books of Tobias, Judith, Baruch, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, and the Maccabees, were received as Canonical, and the Council of Laodicea *(cap. ult.)* rejected them. We reply, first, that neither of these Councils were Ecumenical. One was a Provincial Council, composed of twenty-two Bishops; and that of Carthage was a national one, of forty-four Prelates, and this was confirmed by Pope Leo IV. (as may be seen, *Can. de libellis, Dist.* 20), and was later than that of Laodicea, which, therefore, may be said, to have amended the preceding one. Secondly, we answer, that the Council of Laodicea did not reject these books, but only omitted their insertion in the Canon of the Scriptures, as their authority was, at that time, doubtful; but the matter being made more clear, in the Council of Carthage, afterwards, they were, at once, admitted as authentic. They object, ninthly, that several errors were decided in the Sixth Council, such as that heretics should be re-baptized, and that the marriages between Catholics and heretics were invalid. We answer, with Bellarmin (11), that these Canons were foisted in by the heretics; and, in the Seventh Council (*Act.* 4), it was declared, that these Canons did not belong to the Sixth Council, but were promulgated by an illegitimate Council, many years after, in the time of Julian II., and, as Venerable Bede tells us (12), this Council was rejected by the Pope. They object, tenthly, that the Seventh Council—the Second of Nice—was opposed to the Council of Constan-

(11) Bellar. de Conc. *l.* 2, *c.* 8, *v.* 13. (12) Beda, lib. de sex ætatib.

tinople, celebrated under the Emperor Copronimus, regarding the Veneration of Images, which the Constantinopolitan Council prohibited. We answer that this Council was neither a lawful nor a General one; it was held by only a few Bishops, without the intervention of the Pope's Legates, or of the three Patriarchs of Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, who should, according to the discipline of those times, be present.

84.—They object, eleventhly, that the Second Council of Nice was rejected by the Council of Frankfort. But we reply, with Bellarmin, that this was all by mistake, for the Frankfort Council supposed that it was decided in the Nicene Council, that Images should receive supreme worship (*Cultus Latriæ*), and that it was held without the Pope's consent; but both these suppositions were incorrect, as appears from the Acts of the Nicene Council itself. They object, twelfthly, that, in the Fourth Council of Lateran, the transubstantiation of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ was defined as an Article of Faith, while an anathema was fulminated by the Council of Ephesus against all who would promulgate any other Symbol besides that established by the First Council of Nice. We answer, first, that the Lateran Council did not compose any new Symbol, but merely defined the question then debated. Secondly, that the Council of Ephesus anathematized any one publishing a Symbol opposed to the Nicene one, but not a new Symbol, declaratory of some point not previously defined. They object, thirteenthly, that as in Councils the points of Faith are defined by the majority of votes, it might so happen that one vote might incline the scale to the side of error, and thus the better part be put down by the major part of the Synod. We answer that, in purely secular affairs, such might be the case, that the majority might, in a worldly meeting, put down the more worthy; but, as the Holy Ghost presides in General Councils, and as Jesus Christ has promised, and does not fail to assist his Church, such can never be the case.

85.—They object, fourteenthly, that it is the business of the Council merely to seek the truth; but the Scripture must decide it, and hence, then, the decision does not depend on the majority of votes, but on that judgment which is most in conformity with the Scripture, and hence, say they, every one has a right to

examine and see for himself, whether the Decrees of Councils are in conformity with the Scriptures. This is the doctrine of Luther, Calvin (13), and all Protestants. We answer, that in Canonical Councils it is the Bishops who give an infallible decision on dogmas, and this all should obey without examination. This is proved from Deuteronomy (vii, 12), in which our Lord commands that all should obey the Priest, who decides doubts, presiding at the Council, and those who refuse should be punished with death: "He who will be proud, and refuse to obey the commandment of the Priest, who ministereth at the time to the Lord thy God, and the decree of the judge, that man shall die, and them that take away the evil from Israel." It is also proved most clearly from the Gospel, which says: "If he will not hear the Church, let him be unto you as a heathen and a publican" (Matt. xviii, 17). A General Council represents the Church, as understood by all, and, therefore, should be obeyed. Recollect, also, that in the Council of Jerusalem (*Act.* 15, 16), the question of legal observances was decided, not by the Scriptures, but by the votes of the Apostles, and all were obliged to obey their decision. Therefore, reply the sectarians, the authority of Councils is superior to that of the Scriptures. What a blasphemy, exclaims Calvin (14)! We answer, that the Word of God, both written and unwritten, or Scripture and Tradition, is certainly to be preferred to any Council; but Councils do not make the Word of God, but merely declare what true Scripture is, and true Tradition is, and what is their true sense; they do not, therefore, give themselves the authority of infallibility, but merely declare that which they already possess, deducing it from the Scripture itself, and thus they define the dogmas the faithful should believe. It was thus the Council of Nice declared that the Word was God, and not a creature, and the Council of Trent, that the real body of Christ, and not the figure, was in the Eucharist.

86.—But then, the heretics say, the Church is not composed of Bishops alone, but of all the faithful, both Clergy and laity, and why, then, are Councils held by the Bishops alone? Therefore, says Luther, all Christians, no matter of what degree, should be

(13) Luther de Conc. *art.* 29, & Calvin, Inst. *l.* 4, *c.* 9, *sec.* 8.

(14) Calvin, Inst. *l.* 4, *c.* 9, *sec.* 14.

judges in the Councils. The Protestants maintained this doctrine in the time of the Council of Trent, and sought to have a decisive voice in decreeing the dogmas of the Faith. This they required, when they were invited to attend the Council, to explain themselves on all controverted points, and when a safe conduct was given them, promising them security while in Trent, perfect liberty of conferring, as often as they pleased, with the Fathers, and no hindrance to leave whenever they wished to go. Their ambassadors came, and at first said that they did not consider the safeguard sufficient, since the Council of Constance said that no faith was to be kept with public heretics. The Fathers of Trent, however, replied, that the safe conduct from the Council of Constance to Huss was not given by the Council itself, but by the Emperor Sigismund, so that the Council had then full jurisdiction over him. Besides, as we have already explained in *Chap.* X., *art.* v, *n.* 43, of this History, the safe conduct given to Huss was for other crimes with which he was charged, but not for errors against Faith, and, when Huss was charged with this, he knew not what defence to make. The Tridentine Fathers, at all events, explained to those delegates that the safe conduct given by them was as secure as the Council could make it, and different from that given by the Council of Constance to Huss. The delegates then made three requisitions, in case the Lutheran Doctors came to Trent, none of which could be agreed to (15): First—That questions of Faith should be decided by the Scriptures alone. This could not be granted, since the Council had already decreed in the Fourth Session, that the same veneration was to be paid to Traditions preserved in the Catholic Church as to the Scriptures. Secondly—They required that all Articles already decided on by the Council should be debated over again; but this could not be granted, because it would be just the same thing as to declare that the Council was not infallible when it had made the Decrees, and that would be to give a triumph to the Protestants, even before the battle commenced. Thirdly—They demanded that their Doctors should have a seat in the Council as judges, for the decision of dogmatical points, just as the Bishops had.

(15) Vedi Pallavic. Istor. del Conc. di Trento, *t.* 2, *c.* 15, *n.* 9.

87.—We answer, that the Church is a body, as St. Paul writes, in which our Lord has assigned the duties and obligations of each individual: "Now you are the body of Christ, and members of member. And God indeed hath set some in the Church: first, apostles; secondly, prophets; thirdly, doctors" (I. Cor. xii, 27, 28). And in another place he says: "And other same pastors and doctors" (Ephes. iv, 11). And he adds, afterwards: "Are all doctors" (I. Cor. xii, 29). God, therefore, has appointed some pastors in his Church to govern the flock; others, doctors, to teach the true doctrine, and he charges others, again, not to allow themselves to be led astray by new doctrines: "Be not led away with various and strange doctrines" (Heb. xiii, 9); but to be obedient and submissive to the masters appointed to them: "Obey your prelates, and be subject to them, for they watch, as being to render an account of your souls" (Heb. xiii, 17). Who, then, are these masters whom our Lord has promised to assist to the end of time. They were, in the first place, the Apostles, to whom he said: "Behold, I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world" (Matt. xxviii, 20). He promised them the Holy Ghost, who would remain always with them, to teach them all truth: "I will ask the Father, and he shall give you another Paraclete, that he may abide with you for ever" (John, xiv, 6). And when he, the "Spirit of Truth, is come, he will teach you all truth" (John, xvi, 13). The Apostles, however, being mortal, should soon leave this world, and how, then, could we understand the promise that the Holy Ghost would perpetually remain with them, to instruct them in all truth, that they might afterwards communicate it to others? It must be understood, therefore, that they would have successors, who, with the Divine assistance, would teach the faithful people, and the Bishops are exactly these successors, appointed by God to govern the flock of Christ, as the Apostle says: "Take heed to yourselves, and to the whole flock, wherein the Holy Ghost hath placed you bishops to rule the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood" (Acts, xx, 28). Estius (16), commenting on this passage, says: "Illud, in quo vos Spiritus Sanctus posuit &c.....de iis qui

(16) Estius, in 20 *Act. v.* 12.

proprii Episcopi sunt, intellexit." And, hence, the Council of Trent (*Sess.* xxiii, *Cap.* 4) declared: "Declarat præter ceteros Ecclesiasticos gradus, Episcopos, qui in Apostolorum locum successerunt.....positos a Spiritu Sancto regere Ecclesiam Dei, eosque Presbyteris superiores esse." Hence, the Bishops in Council are the witnesses and judges of the Faith, and say, as the Apostles did in the Council of Jerusalem: "It hath seemed well to the Holy Ghost and to us" (Acts, xv, 18).

88.—St. Cyprian, therefore, says (17): "Ecclesia est in Episcopo;" and St. Ignatius the Martyr (18) had previously said: "Episcopus omnem principatum et potestatem ultra omnes obtinet." The Council of Chalcedon (19) decided "Synodus Episcoporum est, non Clericorum, superfluos foras mittite;" and although in the Council of Constance, the Theologians, Canonists, and Ambassadors of the Sovereigns were allowed to vote, still it was declared that this was permitted merely in the affair of the schism, to put an end to it, but was not allowed when dogmas of Faith were concerned. In the Assembly of the Clergy of France, in 1656, the Parish Clergy of Paris signed a public protest against any other judges in matters of Faith but the Bishops alone. The Archbishop of Spalatro, Mark Anthony de Dominis, whose Faith was justly suspected, said that the consent of the whole Church to any article required not alone that of the Prelates, but of the laity, likewise: "Consensus totius Ecclesiæ in aliquo articulo non minus intelligitur in Laicis, quam etiam in Prælatis; sunt enim etiam Laici in Ecclesia, imo majorem partem constituunt." But the Sorbonne condemned his doctrine as heretical: "Hæc propositio est hæretica, quatenus ad Fidei propositiones statuendas consensum Laicorum requirit."

89.—It is usual to allow the Generals of Religious Orders and Abbots to give a decisive vote in Ecumenical Councils; but this is only by privilege and custom, for, by the ordinary law, the Bishops alone are judges, according to the Tradition of the Fathers, as St. Cyprian, St. Hilary, St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, Osius, St. Augustin, St. Leo the Great, and others testify (20).

(17) St. Cypr. Ep. ad Pupinum.
(18) St. Ignat. Ep. ad Trallian.
(19) Tom. 4, Conc. *p.* 111.
(20) St. Cypr. Ep. ad Jubajan; St. Hilar. de Synod.; St. Ambr. Ep. 22; St. Hieron. Apol. 2 contra Ruffin.; Osius ap. St. Athanas. Ep. ad Solit.; St. Leo Magnus Ep. 16.

But they say that, in the Council of Jerusalem, not alone the Apostles, but the Elders had a place: "The Apostles and Ancients assembled" (Acts, xv, 6), and gave their opinion; "then it pleased the Apostles and Ancients" (*ver.* 22). We answer, that some consider the "Ancients" to have been Bishops, already consecrated by the Apostles; but others think that they were convoked, not as judges, but as advisers, to give their opinions, and thus more easily quiet the people. It will not avail our adversaries either, to say that many of the Bishops are men of prejudiced minds, or lax morality, who cannot expect, consequently, the Divine assistance, or that they are ignorant, and not sufficiently instructed in religious knowledge; for as God promised infallibility to his Church, and, consequently, to the Council which represents it, he so disposes every thing, that, in the definition of the dogmas of the Faith, all the means requisite are supplied. Hence, whenever there is not a manifest defect in any decision, by the omission of some requisite absolutely necessary, every one of the Faithful should bow down with submission to the Decrees of the Council.

90.—With regard to the other errors promulgated by these sectarians against Tradition, the Sacraments, the Mass, Communion under one kind, the Invocation of Saints, Feast Days, Relics, Images, Purgatory, Indulgences, and the Celibacy of the Clergy, I omit their refutation here, for I have done so already in my Dogmatic Work against the Reformers, on the Council of Trent (*Sess.* xxiii., *sec.* 1, & 2). But that the reader may form an opinion of the spirit of these new matters of the Faith, I will just quote one of Luther's sentiments, from one of his public sermons to the people (21). He was highly indignant with some who rebelled against his authority, and, to terrify them into compliance with his sentiments, he said: "I will revoke all I have written and taught, and make my recantation." Behold the Faith this new Church Reformer teaches—a Faith, which he threatens to revoke, when he is not respected as he considers he should be. The Faith of all other sectaries is just the same; they never can be stable in their belief, when once they leave the true Church, the only Ark of Salvation.

(21) Luther, Ser. in Abus. *t.* 7, *p.* 275.

REFUTATION XII.

THE ERRORS OF MICHAEL BAIUS.

In order to refute the false system of Michael Baius, it is necessary to transcribe his seventy-nine condemned Propositions, for it is out of them we must find out his system. Here, then, are the Propositions, condemned by Pope St. Pius V., in the year 1564, in his Bull, which commences, "Ex omnibus afflictionibus," &c.:—"1. Nec Angeli, nec primi hominis adhuc integri merita recte vocantur gratia. 2. Sicut opus malum ex natura sua est mortis æternæ meritorium, sic bonum opus ex natura sua est vitæ æternæ meritorium. 3. Et bonis Angelis, et primo homini, si in statu illo permansissent usque ad ultimum vitæ, felicitas esset merces, et non gratia. 4. Vita æterna homini integro, et Angelo promissa fuit intuitu bonorum operum: et bona opera ex lege naturæ ad illam consequendam per se sufficiunt. 5. In promissione facta Angelo, et primo homini continetur naturalis justitiæ constitutio, quæ pro bonis operibus sine alio respectu, vita æterna justis promittitur. 6. Naturali lege constitutum fuit homini, ut si obedientia perseveraret, ad eam vitam pertransiret, in qua mori non posset. 7. Primi hominis integri merita fuerunt primæ creationis munera: sed juxta modum loquendi Scripturæ Sacræ, non recte vocantur gratiæ; quo fit ut tantum merita, non etiam gratiæ debeant nuncupari. 8. In redemptis per gratiam Christi nullum inveniri potest bonum meritum, quod non sit gratis indigno collatum. 9. Dona concessa homini integro, et Angelo, forsitan, non improbanda ratione, possunt dici gratia: sed quia secundum usum Scripturæ nomine gratiæ tantum ea munera intelliguntur, quæ per Jesum male merentibus et indignis conferuntur, ideo neque merita, nec merces quæ illis redditur, gratia dici debet. 10. Solutionem pœnæ temporalis, quæ peccato dimisso sæpe manet, et corporis resurrectionem, proprie nonnisi meritis Christi adscribendam esse. 11. Quod pie et juste in hac vita mortali usque in finem conversati vitam con-

sequimur æternam, id non proprie gratiæ Dei, sed ordinationi naturali statim initio creationis constitutæ, justo Dei judicio deputandum est. 12. Nec in hac retributione bonorum ad Christi meritum respicitur, sed tantum ad primam constitutionem generis humani, in qua lege naturali institutum est, ut justo Dei judicio obedientiæ mandatorum vita æterna reddatur. 13. Pelagii sententia est, opus bonum citra gratiam adoptionis factum non esse Regni Cœletis meritorium. 14. Opera bona a filiis adoptionis facta non accipiunt rationem meriti ex eo quod fiunt per spiritum adoptionis inhabitantem corda filiorum Dei, sed tantum ex eo quod sunt conformia Legi, quodque per ea præstatur obedientia Legi. 15. Opera bona justorum non accipient in die Judicii extremi ampliorem mercedem, quam justo Dei judicio merentur accipere. 16. Ratio meriti non consistit in eo quod qui bene operatur, habeat gratiam et inhabitantem Spiritum Sanctum, sed in eo solum quod obedit divinæ Legi. 17. Non est vera Legis obedientia, quæ fit sine caritate. 18. Sentiunt cum Pelagio, qui dicunt esse necesarium ad rationem meriti, ut homo per gratiam adoptionis sublimetur ad statum Deificum. 19. Opera Catechumenorum, ut Fides, et Pœnitentia, ante remissionem peccatorum facta sunt vitæ æternæ merita; quam ii non consequentur, nisi prius præcedentium delictorum impedimenta tollantur. 20. Opera justitiæ, et temperantiæ, quæ Christus fecit, ex dignitate Personæ operantis non traxerunt majorem valorem. 21. Nullum est peccatum ex natura sua veniale, sed omne peccatum meretur pœnam æternam. 22. Humanæ naturæ sublimatio et exaltatio in consortium Divinæ naturæ debita fuit integritati primæ conditionis; ac proinde naturalis dicenda est, non supernaturalis. 23. Cum Pelagio sentiunt, qui textum Apostoli ad Romanos secundo: *Gentes quæ legem non habent, naturaliter quæ legis sunt faciunt;* intelligunt de Gentilibus fidem non habentibus. 24. Absurda est eorum sententia, qui dicunt, hominem ab initio dono quodam supernaturali, et gratuito supra conditionem naturæ fuisse exaltatum, ut fide, spe, caritate Deum supernaturaliter coleret. 25. A vanis, et otiosis hominibus secundum insipientiam Philosophorum excogitata est sententia hominem ab initio sic constitutum, ut per dona naturæ superaddita fuerit largitate Conditòris sublimatus, et in Dei filium adoptatus, et ad Pelagianismum rejicienda est illa sententia.

26. Omnia opera Infidelium sunt peccata, et Philosophorum virtutes sunt vitia. 27. Integritas prima creationis non fuit indebita humanæ naturæ exaltatio, sed naturalis ejus conditio. 28. Liberum arbitrium sine gratiæ Dei adjutorio nonnisi ad peccandum valet. 29. Pelagianus est error dicere, quod liberum arbitrium valet ad ullum peccatum vitandum. 30. Non solum fures ii sunt et latrones, qui Christum viam, et ostium veritatis et vitæ negant; sed etiam quicunque aliunde quam per Christum in viam justitiæ, hoc est, ad aliquam justitiam conscendi posse dicunt; aut tentationi ulli sine gratiæ ipsius adjutorio resistere hominem posse, sic ut in eam non inducatur, aut ab ea superetur. 31. Caritas perfecta et sincera, quæ est ex corde puro et conscientia bona, et fide non ficta, tam in Catechumenis, quam in Pœnitentibus potest esse sine remissione peccatorum. 32. Caritas illa quæ est plenitudo Legis, non est semper conjuncta cum remissione peccatorum. 33. Catechumenus juste, recte, et sancte vivit, et mandata Dei observat, ac Legem implet per caritatem, ante obtentam remissionem peccatorum, quæ in Baptismi lavacro demum percipitur. 34. Distinctio illa duplicis amoris, naturalis videlicet, quo Deus amatur ut auctor naturæ, et gratuiti, quo Deus amatur ut beatificator, vana est et commentitia, et ad illudendum Sacris Litteris, et plurimis Veterum testimoniis excogitata. 35. Omne quod agit peccator, vel servus peccati peccatum est. 36. Amor naturalis, qui ex viribus naturæ exoritur, et sola Philosophia per elationem præsumptionis humanæ, cum injuria Crucis Christi defenditur a nonnullis Doctoribus. 37. Cum Pelagio sentit, qui boni aliquid naturalis, hoc est, quod ex naturæ solis viribus ortum ducit, agnoscit. 38. Omnis amor creaturæ naturalis, aut vitiosa est cupiditas, qua mundus diligitur, quæ a Joanne prohibetur: aut laudabilis illa caritas, qua per Spiritum Sanctum in corde diffusa Deus amatur. 39. Quod voluntarie fit, etiamsi in necessitate fiat, libere tamen fit. 40. In omnibus suis actibus peccator servit dominanti cupiditati. 41. Is libertatis modus, qui est a necessitate, sub libertatis nomine non reperitur in scripturis, sed solum libertatis a peccato. 42. Justitia, qua justificatur per fidem impius, consistit formaliter in obedientia mandatorum, quæ est operum justitia, non autem in gratia aliqua animæ infusa, qua adoptatur homo in filium Dei, et secundum interiorem hominem renovatur, et Divinæ naturæ consors efficitur, ut sic per

Spiritum-Sanctum renovatus, deinceps bene vivere, et Dei mandatis obedire possit. 43. In hominibus pœnitentibus, ante Sacramentum absolutionis, et in Catechumenis ante Baptismum est vera justificatio, et separata tamen a remissione peccatorum. 44. Operibus plerisque, quæ a fidelibus fiunt, solum ut Dei mandatis pareant, cujusmodi sunt obedire parentibus, depositum reddere, ab homicidio, a furto, a fornicatione abstinere, justificantur quidem homines, quia sunt legis obedientia, et vera legis justitia; non tamen iis obtinent incrementa virtutum. 45. Sacrificium Missæ non alia ratione est Sacrificium, quam generali illa, qua omne opus quod fit, ut sancta societate Deo homo inhæreat. 46. Ad rationem, et definitionem peccati non pertinet voluntarium nec definitionis quæstio est, sed caussæ, et originis, utrum omne peccatum debeat esse voluntarium. 47. Unde peccatum originis vere habet rationem peccati, sine ulla relatione, ac respectu ad voluntatem, a qua originem habuit. 48. Peccatum originis est habituali parvuli voluntate voluntarium, et habitualiter dominatur parvulos, eo quod non gerit contrarium voluntatis arbitrium. 49. Et ex habituali voluntate dominante fit ut parvulus decedens sine regenerationis Sacramento, quando usum rationis consequens erit, actualiter Deum odio habeat, Deum blasphemet, et Legi Dei repugnet. 50. Prava desideria, quibus ratio non consentit, et quæ homo invitus patitur, sunt prohibita præcepto: *Non concupisces.* 51. Concupiscentia, sive lex membrorum, et prava ejus desideria, quæ inviti sentiunt homines, sunt vera legis inobedientia. 52. Omne scelus est ejus conditionis, ut suum auctorem, et omnes posteros eo modo inficere possit, quo infecit prima transgressio. 53. Quantum est ex vi transgressionis, tantum meritorum malorum a generante contrahunt, qui cum minoribus nascuntur vitiis, quam qui cum majoribus. 54. Definitiva hæc sententia, Deum homini nihil impossibile præcepisse, falso tribuitur Augustino, cum Pelagii sit. 55. Deus non potuisset ab initio talem creare hominem, qualis nunc nascitur. 56. In peccato duo sunt, actus, et reatus: transeunte autem actu nihil manet, nisi reatus, sive obligatio ad pœnam. 57. Unde in Sacramento Baptismi, aut Sacerdotis absolutione proprie reatus peccati dumtaxat tollitur; et ministerium Sacerdotum solum liberat a reatu. 58. Peccator pœnitens non vivificatur ministerio Sacerdotis absolventis, sed a solo Deo, qui pœnitentiam suggerens,

et inspirans vivificat eum, et resuscitat; ministerio autem Sacerdotis solum reatus tollitur. 59. Quando per eleemosynas aliaque pœnitentiæ opera Deo satisfacimus pro pœnis temporalibus, non dignum pretium Deo pro peccatis nostris offerimus, sicut quidem errantes autumant (nam alioqui essemus saltem aliqua ex parte redemptores), sed aliquid facimus, cujus intuitu Christi satisfactio nobis applicatur, et communicatur. 60. Per passiones Sanctorum in indulgentiis communicatas non proprie redimuntur nostra delicta, sed per communionem caritatis nobis eorum passiones impartiuntur, et ut digni simus, qui pretio Sanguinis Christi a pœnis pro peccatis debitis liberemur. 61. Celebris illa Doctorum distinctio, divinæ legis mandata bifariam impleri, altero modo quantum ad præceptorum operum substantiam tantum, altero quantum ad certum quendam modum, videlicet, secundum quem valeant operantem perducere ad regnum (hoc est ad modum meritorum) commentitia est, et explodenda. 62. Illa quoque opus dicitur bifariam bonum, vel quia ex objecto, et omnibus circumstantiis rectum est, et bonum (quod moraliter bonum appellare consueverunt), vel quia est meritorium Regni æterni, eo quod sit a vivo Christi membro per spiritum caritatis, rejicienda est. 63. Sed et illa distinctio duplicis justitiæ alterius, quæ fit per spiritum caritatis inhabitantem, alterius, quæ fit ex inspiratione quidem Spiritus Sancti cor ad pœnitiam excitantis, sed nondum cor habitantis, et in eo caritatem diffundentis, qua Divinæ legis justificatio impleatur, similiter rejicicitur. 64. Item et illa distinctio duplicis vificationis, alterius, qua vivificatur peccator, dum ei pœnitentiæ, et vitæ novæ propositum, et inchoatio per Dei gratiam inspiratur; alterius, qua vivificatur, qui vere justificatur, et palmes vivus in vito Christo efficitur; pariter commentitia est, et Scripturis minime congruens. 65. Nonnisi Pelagiano errore admitti potest usus aliquis liberi arbitrii bonus, sive non malus, et gratiæ Christi injuriam facit, qui ita sentit, et docet. 66. Sola violentia repugnat libertati hominis naturali. 67. Homo peccat, etiam damnabiliter; in eo quod necessario facit. 68. Infidelitas pure negativa in his, in quibus Christus non est prædicatus, peccatum est. 69. Justificatio impii fit formaliter per obedientiam Legis, non autem per occultam communicationem, et inspirationem gratiæ, quæ per eam justificatos faciat implere legem. 70. Homo existens in peccato mortali, sive in reatu æternæ damnationis, potest habere

veram caritatem; et caritas, etiam perfecta, potest consistere cum reatu æternæ damnationis. 71. Per contritionem, etiam cum caritate perfecta, et cum voto suscipendi Sacramentum conjunctam, non remittitur crimen, extra causam necessitatis, aut Martyrii, sine actuali susceptione Sacramenti. 72. Omnes omnino justorum afflictiones sunt ultiones peccatorum ipsorum; unde et Job, et Martyres, quæ passi sunt, propter peccata sua passi sunt. 73. Nemo, præter Christum est absque peccato originali, hinc Virgo mortua est propter peccatum ex Adam contractum, omnesque ejus afflictiones in hoc vita, sicut et aliorum justorum, fuerunt ultiones peccati actualis, vel originalis. 74. Concupiscentia in renatis relapsis in peccatum mortale, in quibus jam dominatur, peccatum est, sicut et alii habitus pravi. 75. Motus pravi concupiscentiæ sunt pro statu hominis vitiati prohibiti præcepto, *Non concupisces;* Unde homo eos sentiens, et non consentiens, transgreditur præceptum, *Non concupisces;* quamvis transgressio in peccatum non deputetur. 76. Quandiu aliquid concupiscentiæ carnalis in diligente est, non facit præceptum, *Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo.* 77. Satisfactiones laboriosæ justificatorum non valent expiare de condigno pœnam temporalem restantem post culpam conditionatam. 78. Immortalitas primi Hominis non erat gratiæ beneficium, sed naturalis conditio. 79. Falsa est Doctorum sententia, primum Hominem potuisse a Deo creari, et instituti sine Justitia naturali."

1.—I should remark here that several of these Propositions are taken word for word from the writings of Baius—others only according to their meaning—and others again belong to his companion, Esselius, or other supporters of his; but as they were almost all taught by him, they are all generally attributed to him, and from them his system can be clearly deduced. He distinguishes three states of human nature—Innocent, Fallen, and Restored or Redeemed.

2.—Regarding Nature in a state of innocence, he says: First—That God, as a matter of justice, and by that right which the creature has, ought to create both angels and men for eternal beatitude. This opinion is deduced from eight articles, condemned in the Bull—the twenty-first, twenty-third, twenty-fourth, twenty-sixth, twenty-seventh, fifty-fifth, seventy-second,

and seventy-ninth. Secondly—That Sanctifying Grace was due as a matter of right to Nature, in a state of innocence. This proposition follows, as a necessary consequence, from the former one. Thirdly—That the gifts granted to the Angels and to Adam were not gratuitous and supernatural, but were natural, and due to them by right, as the twenty-first and twenty-seventh articles assert. Fourthly—That the Grace granted to Adam and to the Angels did not produce supernatural and Divine merits, but merely natural and human ones, according to the first, seventh, and ninth articles. And, in fact, if merits follow from Grace, and the benefits of Grace were due by right, and naturally belonged to Nature, in a state of innocence, the same should be said of merits, which are the fruit of this Grace. Fifthly—That Beatitude would be not a Grace, but a mere natural reward, if we had persevered in a state of innocence, as the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth articles say; and this is also a consequence of the antecedent propositions, for if it were true that merits, in a state of innocence, were merely human and natural, then Beatitude would be no longer a Grace, but a reward due to us.

3.—Secondly, Baius taught, regarding *fallen* nature, that when Adam sinned he lost all gifts of Grace, so that he was incapable of doing anything good, even in a natural sense, and could only do evil. Hence, he deduces, first, that in those who are not baptized, or have fallen into sin after Baptism, concupiscence, or the *fomes* of sensitive pleasure, which is contrary to reason, though without any consent of the will, is truly and properly a sin which is imputed to them by reason of the will of mankind included in the will of Adam, as is explained in the seventy-fourth proposition. Nay, more, he says, in the seventy-fifth proposition, that the evil movements of our senses, though not consented to, are transgressions even in the just, though God does not impute it to them. Secondly, he deduces, that all that the sinner does is intrinsically a sin (see the thirty-fifth proposition). He deduces, thirdly, that for merit or demerit violence alone is repugnant to the liberty of man; so that when he does any voluntary bad action, though he does it of necessity, he sins, as the thirty-ninth and sixty-seventh propositions teach. In the third place, with regard to Redeemed Nature, Baius supposes

that every good work, by its very nature, and of itself, merits eternal life, independently, altogether, of the Divine arrangement, the merits of Jesus Christ, and the knowledge of the person who performs it. The second, eleventh, and fifteenth propositions show this. From this false supposition he draws four false consequences: First—That man's justification does not consist in the infusion of Grace, but in obedience to the Commandments (see propositions forty-two and sixty-nine). Second—That perfect charity is not always conjoined with the remission of sins. Third—That in the Sacraments of Baptism and Penance the penalty of the punishment alone is remitted, and not the fault, for God alone can take away that (see the fifty-seventh and fifty-eighth propositions). Fourth—That every sin deserves eternal punishment, and that there are no venial sins (proposition twenty-one). We see, then, that Baius taught, by his system, the errors of Pelagius, when he treats of Innocent Nature—man's nature before the fall; for, with that heresiarch, he teaches that Grace is not gratuitous, or supernatural, but is natural, and belongs to nature, of right. With regard to Fallen Nature, he teaches the errors of Luther and Calvin, for he asserts that man is, of necessity, obliged to do good or evil according to the movements of the two delectations which he may receive, heavenly or worldly. With regard to the state of Redeemed Nature, the errors which he teaches concerning justification, the efficacy of the Sacraments, and merit, are so clearly condemned by the Council of Trent, that if we did not read them in his works, we never could believe that he published them, after having personally attended that Council.

4.—He says, in the forty-second and sixty-ninth propositions, that the justification of the sinner does not consist in the infusion of Grace, but in obedience to the Commandments; but the Council teaches (*Sess.* vi, *cap.* 7), that no one can become just, unless the merits of Jesus Christ are communicated to him; for it is by these the Grace which justifies is infused into him: "Nemo potest esse justus, nisi cui merita passionis D. N. Jesu Christi communicantur." And this is what St. Paul says: "Being justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus" (Rom. iii, 24). He says that perfect Charity is not conjoined with the remission of sins (propositions thirty-one and

thirty-two); but the Council, speaking specially of the Sacrament of Penance, declares (*Sess.* xiv, *c.* 4), that Contrition, united with perfect Charity, justifies the sinner before he receives the Sacrament. He says that by the Sacraments of Baptism and Penance the penalty of punishment, but not of the fault, is remitted (propositions fifty-seven and fifty-eight). But the Council, speaking of Baptism (*Sess.* v, *Can.* 5), teaches that by Baptism the penalty of original sin, and every thing else which has the rationale of sin, is remitted: "Per Jesu Christi gratiam, quæ in Baptismate confertur, reatum originalis peccati remitti, et tolli totum id quod veram, et propriam peccati rationem habet, illudque non tantum radi, aut non imputari." Speaking of the Sacrament of Penance, the Council diffusely explains (*Sess.* xiv, *c.* 1), that it is a truth of Faith, that our Lord has left to Priests the power to remit sins in this Sacrament, and condemns anew the error of the Novatians, who denied it. Baius says that concupiscence, or every evil motion of concupiscence, in those who are not baptized, or who, after Baptism, have fallen, is a real sin, because they then transgress the Commandment, "Thou shalt not covet," &c. (propositions seventy-four and seventy-five); but the Council teaches that concupiscence is not a sin, and that it does no harm to those who do not give consent to it: "Concupiscentia, cum ad agonem relicta sit, nocere non consentientibus non valet.....Hanc concupiscentiam Ecclesiam nunquam intellexisse peccatum appellari, quod vere peccatum sit, sed quia ex peccato est, et ad peccatum inclinas (*Sess.* v, *cap.* 5).

5.—In fine, all that Baius taught regarding the three states of nature is a necessary consequence of one sole principle of his, that is, that there are but two authors, either Theological Charity, by which we love God above all things, as the last end; or concupiscence, by which we love the creature as the last end, and that between these two loves there is no medium. He says, then, God being just, could not, in opposition to the right which an intelligent creature has, create man subject to concupiscence alone; and, therefore, as leaving concupiscence out of the question, there is no other proper love but supernatural love alone, when he created Adam he must have given him, in the first instance of his creation, this supernatural love, the essential

end of which is the beatific vision of God. Charity, therefore, was not a supernatural and gratuitous gift, but a natural one, which was the right of human nature, and, therefore, the merits of this charity were natural, and beatitude was our due, and not a grace. From this, then, he drew another consequence, which was, that free will being, after the fall, deprived of Grace, which was, as it were, a supplement of nature, was of no use, only to cause us to sin. We answer, however, that this principle is evidently false, and, therefore, every consequence deduced from it is false, likewise. There is evidence to prove, in opposition to the principle of Baius, that the intelligent creature has no positive right to existence, and, consequently, has no innate right to exist in one way more than another. Besides, several learned Theologians, whose opinions I follow, teach, with very good reason, that God could, if it pleased him, create man in a state of pure nature, so that he would be born without any supernatural gift, and without sin, but with all the perfections and imperfections which belong to this state of nature; so that the object of pure nature might be natural, and all the miseries of human life, as concupiscence, ignorance, death, and all other calamities, might belong of right to mere human nature itself, just as now in the state of fallen nature they are the effects and punishments of sin; and, therefore, in our present state, concupiscence inclines us much more to sin than it would do in a state of pure nature, since by sin the understanding of man is more obscured, and his will wounded.

6.—It was undoubtedly one of the errors of Pelagius, that God had in fact created man in a state of pure nature. On the other hand, it was one of Luther's errors to assert that the state of pure nature is repugnant to the right which man has to Grace; but this error was already taken up by Baius, because surely it was not necessary by right of nature that man should be created in a state of original justice; but God might create him without sin, and without original justice, taking into account the right of human nature. This is proved, first, from the Bulls already quoted, of St. Pius V., Gregory XIII., and Urban VIII., which confirm the Bull of St. Pius, in which the assertion, that the *consortium* of the Divine Nature was due to, and even natural to, the nature of man, as Baius said—"Humanæ naturæ

sublimatio, et exaltatio in consortium Divinæ naturæ debita fuit integritati primæ conditionis, et proinde naturalis dicenda est, et non supernaturalis"—was condemned (proposition twenty-two). He says the same in the fifty-fifth proposition: "Deus non potuisset ab initio talem creare hominem, qualis nunc nascitur;" that is, exclusive of sin we understand. In the seventy-ninth proposition, again he says: "Falsa est Doctorum sententia, primum hominem et potuisse a Deo creari, et institui sine justitia naturali." Jansenius, though a strong partisan of the doctrine of Baius, confesses that those Decrees of the Pope made him very uneasy: "Hæreo, fateor" (1).

7.—The disciples of Baius and Jansenius, however, say they have a doubt whether the Bull of Urban VIII., "In eminenti," should be obeyed; but Tournelly (2) answers them, and shows that the Bull being a dogmatic law of the Apostolic See, whose authority Jansenius himself says, all Catholics, as children of obedience, should venerate, and being accepted in the places where the controversy was agitated, and by the most celebrated Churches in the world, and tacitly admitted by all others, should be held as an infallible judgment of the Church, which all should hold by; and even Quesnel himself admits that.

8.—Our adversaries also speak of the way the Bull of St. Pius should be understood, and say, first, that we cannot believe that the Apostolic See ever intended to condemn in Baius the doctrine of St. Augustin, who, as they suppose, taught that the state of pure nature was an impossibility. This supposition of theirs, however, is totally unfounded, for the majority of Theologians assert, that the Holy Doctor in many places teaches the contrary, especially in his writings against the Manicheans (3), and distinguishes four modes in which God might create the souls of men blameless, and, among them, the second mode would be, if, previously to any sin being committed, these created souls were infused into their bodies subject to ignorance, concupiscence, and all the miseries of this life; by this mode, the possibility of pure nature is certainly established. Consult Tournelly (4) on this

(1) Jansen. *l.* 3, *d.* Statu. nat. pur. *c.* ult.
(2) Comp. Theol. *t.* 5, *p.* 1, Disp. 5, *art.* 3, *s.* 2.
(3) St. August. *l.* 3, de lib. arb. *c.* 20.
(4) Tourn. *t.* 5, *p.* 2, *c.* 7, *p.* 67.

point, where he answers all objections, and you will see also how Jansenius treats it.

9.—They say, likewise, that the propositions of Baius were not condemned in the Bull of St. Pius in the sense the author understood them. The words of the Bull are: "Quas quidem sententias stricto coram nobis examine ponderatas, quanquam nonnullæ aliquo pacto sustineri possent, in rigore, et proprio verborum sensu ab assertoribus intento hæreticas, erroneas, temerarias, &c., respective damnamus," &c. They then say that between the word, *possent,* and the following ones, *in rigore, et proprio verborum sensu,* there was no comma, but that it was placed after the words *ab assertoribus intento;* so that the sentence being read thus: "quanquam nonnullæ aliquo pacto sustineri possent in rigore et proprio verborum sensu ab assertoribus intento," the proposition could be sustained in this proper and intended sense, as the Bull declares. According to this interpretation, however, the Bull would contradict itself, condemning opinions which, in their proper sense, and that intended by the author, could be sustained. If they could be sustained in the proper sense, why were they condemned, and why was Baius expressly called on to retract them? It would be a grievous injustice to condemn these propositions, and oblige the author to retract them, if in the proper and plain sense they could be defended. Besides, though in the Bull of St. Pius, the comma may be wanted after the word *possent,* still no one has ever denied or doubted but that it was inserted in the subsequent Bulls of Gregory XIII. and Urban VIII. There cannot be the least doubt that the opinions of Baius were condemned by these Pontifical Bulls.

10.—They say, thirdly, that the propositions were condemned, having regard to the Divine Omnipotence, according to which the state of pure nature was possible, but not in regard to the wisdom and goodness of God. The Theologians already quoted answer, that in that case the Apostolic See has condemned not a real, but only an apparent, error, since, in reality, the doctrine of Baius, in regard to the wisdom and goodness of God, is not condemnable. It is false, however, to suppose that the state of pure nature is only possible according to the Omnipotence of God, and not according to his other attributes. That which is repug-

nant or not agreeable to any of the attributes of God is, in fact, impossible, for "He cannot deny himself" (II. Tim. ii, 13). St. Anselm says (5): "In Deo quantumlibet parvum inconveniens sequitur impossibilitas." Besides, if that principle of our adversaries themselves were true, that there is no middle love between vicious cupidity and laudable charity, then the state of pure nature, even in regard to the Divine Omnipotence, as they suppose, would be an impossibility, since it would, in fact, be repugnant to God to produce a creature contrary to himself, with the necessity of sinning, as, according to their supposition of possibility, this creature would be.

11.—In fact, I think no truth can be more evident, than that the state of pure nature is not an impossibility, a state in which man would be created without Grace and without sin, and subject to all the miseries of this life. I say this with all reverence for the Augustinian school, which holds the contrary opinion. There are two very evident reasons for this doctrine: First—Man could very well have been created without any supernatural gift, but merely with those qualities which are adapted to human nature. Therefore, that Grace which was supernatural, and was given to Adam, was not his due, for then, as St. Paul says (Rom. xi, 6): "Grace is no more grace." Now, as man might be created without Grace, God might also create him without sin—in fact, he could not create him with sin, for then he would be the author of sin. Then he might likewise create him subject to concupiscence, to disease, and to death, for these defects, as St. Augustin explains, belong to man's very nature, and are a part of his constitution. Concupiscence proceeds from the union of the soul with the body, and, therefore, the soul is desirous of that sensitive pleasure which the body likes. Diseases, and all the other miseries of human life, proceed from the influence of natural causes, which, in a state of pure nature, would be just as powerful as at present, and death naturally follows from the continual disagreement of the elements of which the body is composed.

12.—The second reason is, that it is not repugnant to any of the Divine attributes to create man without Grace and without

(5) St. Anselm, *l.* 1, Cum Deus homo, *c.* 1.

sin. Jansenius himself admits that it is not opposed to his Omnipotence; neither is it to any other attribute, for in that state, as St. Augustin (6) teaches, all that is due by right to man's natural condition, as reason, liberty, and the other faculties necessary for his preservation, and the accomplishment of the object for which he was created, would be given to him by God. Besides, all Theologians, as Jansenius himself confesses in those works in which he speaks of pure nature, are agreed in admitting the possibility of this state, that is considering the right of the creature alone, and this is precisely the doctrine of the Prince of Schoolmen, St. Thomas. He teaches (7), that man might be created without consideration to the Beatific Vision. He says: "Carentia Divino visionis competeret ei qui in solis naturalibus esset etiam absque peccato." He likewise, in another passage (8), teaches that man might be created with that concupiscence which rebels against reason: "Illa subjectio inferiorum virium ad rationem non erat naturalis." Several Theologians, therefore, admit the possibility of the state of pure nature, as Estius, Ferrarensis, the Salmanticenses, Vega, and several others. Bellarmin (9), especially, says he does not know how any one can doubt of this opinion.

13.—We have now to answer the objections of our adversaries. The first objection is on the score of "Beatitude." St. Augustin, according to Jansenius, teaches in several places that God could not, without injustice, deny eternal glory to man in a state of innocence: "Qua justitia quæso a Regno Dei alienatur imago Dei in nullo transgressu legem Dei." These are St. Augustin's words (10). We answer that the Holy Father in this passage was opposing the Pelagians, according to man's present state, that is, supposing the gratuitous ordination of man to a supernatural end: according to that supposition, he said that it would be unjust to deprive man of the kingdom of God if he had not sinned. Neither is it of any consequence that St. Thomas (11) says that man's desires can find no rest except in the vision of

(6) St. August. *l.* 3, de lib. arb. *c.* 20, 22, 23.
(7) St. Thom. *qu.* 4, de Malo. *a.* 1.
(8) Idem in Summa. 1, *p.* *q.* 95, *art.* 1.
(9) Bellarm. *l.* de Grat. primi hom. *cap.* 5.
(10) St. August. *l.* 3, contra Julian, *cap.* 12.
(11) St. Thom. l. 4, contra Gentes, *c.* 50.

God: "Non quiescit naturale desiderium in ipsis, nisi etiam ipsius Dei substantiam videant;" and as this appetite is naturally implanted in man, he could not have been created unless in order to this end. We answer, that St. Thomas (12), in several places, and especially in his book of Disputed Questions, teaches that by nature we are not inclined in particular to the vision of God, but only to beatitude in general: "Homini inditus est appetitus ultimi sui finis in communi, ut scilicit appetat se esse completum in bonitate; sed in quo ista completio consistat non est determinatum a natura." Therefore, according to the Holy Doctor, there is not in man an innate tendency to the beatific vision, but only to beatitude in general. He confirms this in another place (13): "Quamvis ex naturali inclinatione voluntas habeat, ut in beatitudinem feratur, tamen quod feratur in beatitudinem talem, vel talem, hoc non est ex inclinatione naturæ." But they will still say that it is only in the vision of God that man can have perfect happiness, as David says (Psalm xvi, 15): "I shall be satisfied when thy glory shall appear." To this we reply, that this refers to man in his present state, since he has been created in order to eternal life, but never would be the case in another state, that of pure nature, for example.

14.—The second objection is on the score of "Concupiscence." God, they say, could never be the author of concupiscence, since we read in St. John (I. Epis. ii, 16), that "it is not of the Father, but is of the world;" and St. Paul says: "Now, then, it is no more I that do it, but sin (*that is concupiscence*), that dwelleth in me" (Rom. vii, 17). We answer the text of St. John, by saying that the concupiscence of the flesh is not from the Father, in our present state of existence, for in that it springs from sin, and inclines to sin, as the Council of Trent (*Sess.* v, *can.* 5) declares: "Quia est a peccato, et ad peccatum inclinat." In our present state even, it influences us more powerfully than it would in a state of pure nature; but even in this state it would not proceed formally from the Father, considered as an imperfection, but would come from him as one of the conditions of human nature. We answer the text of St. Paul in like manner, that concupiscence is called sin, because, in our present state, it springs

(12) St. Thom. *q.* 22, de Verit.

(13) Idem 4, Sent. Dist. 49, *q.* 1, *art.* 3.

from sin, since man was created in grace; but in a state of pure nature it would not come from sin, but from the very condition itself, in which human nature would have been created.

15.—They say, secondly, that God could not create a rational being with anything which would incline him to sin, as concupiscence would. We answer, that God could not create man with anything which, in itself, *in se*, would incline him to sin, as with a vicious habit, for example, which of itself inclines and induces one to sin; but he might create man with that which accidentally, *per accidens*, inclines him to sin, for in this is the condition of his nature only accomplished, for otherwise God should create man impeccable, for it is a defect to be peccable. Concupiscence, of itself, does not incline man to sin, but solely to that happiness adapted to human nature, and for the preservation of nature itself, which is composed of soul and body; so that it is not of itself, but only accidentally, and through the deficiency of the condition of human nature itself, that it sometimes inclines us to sin. God, surely, was not obliged, when he produced his creatures, to give them greater perfections than those adapted to their natures. Because he has not given sensation to plants, or reason to brutes, we cannot say that the defect is his; it belongs to the nature itself of these creatures, and so if, in the state of pure nature, God did not exempt man from concupiscence, which might accidentally incline him to evil, it would not be a defect of God himself, but of the condition itself of human nature.

16.—The third objection is on the score of the "Miseries" of human nature. St. Augustin, they say, when opposing the Pelagians, frequently deduced the existence of original sin from the miseries of this life. We briefly answer, that the Holy Doctor speaks of the misery of man in his present state, remembering the original holiness in which he was created, and knowing, from the Scriptures, that Adam was created free from death and from all the penalties of this life. On this principle, God could not, with justice, deprive him of the gifts granted to him, without some positive fault on his side; and, hence, the Saint inferred that Adam sinned, from the calamities which we endure in this life. He would say quite the contrary, however, if he were speaking of the state of pure nature, in which the miseries

of life would spring from the condition itself of human nature, and especially as in the state of lapsed nature our miseries are, by many degrees, greater than they would be in a state of pure nature. From the grievous miseries, then, of our present state, original sin can be proved; but it could not be so from the lesser miseries which man would suffer in a state of pure nature.

REFUTATION XIII.

THE ERRORS OF CORNELIUS JANSENIUS.

1.—In order to refute the errors of Jansenius, it is quite sufficient to refute his system, which, in substance, consists in supposing that our will is forced by necessity to do either what is good or bad, according to the impulse it receives from the greater or less degree of celestial or terrestrial delectation, which predominates in us, and which we cannot resist, since this delectation, as he says, precedes our consent, and even forces us to yield consent to it. This error he founded on that well-known expression of St. Augustin: "Quod amplius delectat, id nos operemur, necessum est." Here are his words: "Gratia est delectatio et suavitas, qua Anima in bonum appetendum delectabiliter trahitur; ac pariter delectationem concupiscentiæ esse desiderium illicitum, quo animus etiam repugnans in peccatum inhiat" (1). And again, in the same book (*Cap.* 9), he says: "Utraque delectatio invicem pugnat, earumque conflictus sopiri non potest, nisi alteram altera delectando superaverit, et eo totum animæ pondus vergat, ita ut vigente delectatione carnali impossibile sit, quod virtutis, et honestatis consideratio prævaleat."

2.—Jansenius says that in that state of justice, in which man

(1) Jansen. *l.* 4, de Grat. Christ. *c.* 11.

was created—"God made man right" (Eccles. vii, 30)—being then inclined to rectitude, he could with his own will easily perform what was right, with the Divine assistance alone, called *sine quo*—that is, Sufficient Grace (which gives him the power, but not the will); so that, with that ordinary assistance alone, he could then agree to, and follow grace, but when his will was weakened by sin, and inclined to forbidden pleasures, it then could not, with sufficient Grace alone, do what is right, but required that assistance called, theologically, *Quo*—that is, Efficacious Grace (which is his conquering delectation, in relation to the superiority of degrees), which pushes him on, and determines him to perform what is good, otherwise he never could resist the opposing carnal delectation: "Gratia sanæ voluntatis in ejus libero relinquebatur arbitrio, ut eam si vellet desereret; aut si vellet uteretur; gratia vero lapsæ ægrotæque voluntatis nullo modo in ejus relinquitur arbitrio, ut eam deserat, et arripiat si voluerit" (2). During the period that the carnal delectation predominates, then, says Jansenius, it is impossible that virtue should prevail: "Vigente delectatione carnali, impossibile est, ut virtutis et honestatis consideratio prævaleat" (3). He says, besides, that this superior delectation has such power over the will, that it obliges it necessarily either to wish or reject, according as it moves it: "Delectatio, seu delectabilis objecti complacentia, est id quod tantam in liberum arbitrium potestatem habet, ut eum faciat velle vel nolle, seu ut ea præsente actus volendi sit reipsa in ejus potestate, absente non sit" (4).

3.—In another passage he says that, if the celestial delectation is less than the terrestrial one, it will only give rise to some inefficacious and impotent desires in the soul, but will never lead us on to embrace what is good: "Delectatio victrix, quæ Augustino est efficax adjutorium, relativa est; tunc enim est victrix, quando alteram superat. Quod si contingat alteram ardentiorem esse, in solis inefficacibus desideriis hærebit animus, nec efficaciter unquam volet, quod volendum est" (5). Again, he says that as the faculty of vision not only causes us to see, but gives us the power of seeing, so the predominant delectation not only causes

(2) Jansen. de lib. arb. *l.* 2, *c.* 4.
(3) Jansen. *l.* 7, de Grat. Chr. *c.* 3, vide etiam, *c.* 50.
(4) Idem, eod. tit. *l.* 7, *c.* 3.
(5) Idem, eod. tit. *l.* 8, *c.* 2.

us to act, but gives us the power of acting: "Tantæ necessitatis est, ut sine illa effectus fieri non possit.....dat enim simul et posse, et operari" (6). He says, besides, that it is just as impossible to resist this superior delectation, as for a blind man to see, a deaf one to hear, or a bird deprived of its wings to fly (7). Finally, he concludes that this delectation, "delectatio victrix," be it heavenly or earthly, so binds down our free will, that it looses all power when opposed to it: "Justitiæ vel peccati delectatio est illud vinculum, quo liberum arbitrium ita firmiter ligatur, ut quamdiu isto stabiliter constringitur, actus oppositus sit extra ejus potestatem" (8). These passages alone, I think, are quite sufficient to show how false is Jansenius's system of relative conquering delectation, to which the will is always obliged, of necessity, to yield obedience.

4.—From this system, then, spring his five propositions, condemned by Innocent X., as we have seen in the Historical Part of the Work (9). It is necessary to repeat them here again. The first proposition is: "Some commandments of God are impossible to just men, even when they wish and strive to accomplish them, according to their present strength, and Grace is wanting to them, by which they may be possible to them." The censure passed on this was—It was rash, impious, blasphemous, branded with anathema, and heretical; and, as such, condemned. The Jansenists made many objections to the condemnation of this proposition, as well as of the other four. Their two principal objections, however, were the following: First, that the propositions quoted in the Bull of Innocent were not in the Book of Jansenius at all; and, secondly, that these propositions were not condemned in the sense intended by Jansenius. These two objections, however, were quashed by Alexander VII., in his Bull, promulgated in 1656, in which he expressly declares that the five propositions were taken from the book of Jansenius, and in the sense intended by him: "Quinque propositiones ex libro Cornelii Jansenii excerptas, ac in sensu ab eodem Cornelio intento damnatas fuisse." This was, in reality, the fact, and so to refute, first of all, these most dangerous and most general

(6) Jansen. *l.* 2, *c.* 4.
(7) Jans. de Grat. Christ. *l.* 4, *c.* 7, & *l.* 7, *c.* 5.
(8) Ibid, *l.* 7, *c.* 5.
(9) *Chap.* 12, *art.* 3.

objections (for by and by we will have occasion to attack others), I will quote the passages transcribed from the book of Jansenius himself, in which the reader will see that, though the words are not the same, the substance is, and, taken in their natural and obvious sense, prove that this was the meaning intended by the author.

5.—To begin with the first proposition, it is expressed in Jansenius's book almost in the same words: "Hæc igitur omnia plenissime planissimeque demonstrant, nihil esse in St. Augustini doctrina certius ac fundatius, quam *esse præcepta quædam, quæ hominibus* non tantum infidelibus, excæcatis, obscuratis, sed fidelibus quoque, et *justis volentibus, et conantibus secundum præsentes quas habent vires, sunt impossibilia, deesse quoque gratiam, qua possibilia fiant*" (10). He then immediately, as an example, quotes the fall of St. Peter, and says: "Hoc enim St. Petri exemplo, aliisque multis quotidie manifestum esse, qui tentantur ultra quam possint substinere." Listen to this. St. Paul says, that God will not permit us to be tempted beyond our strength: "God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that which your are able" (I. Cor. x, 13); and Jansenius says that many are tempted beyond their strength. Towards the end of the same Chapter, he labours to prove that the grace of prayer sometimes fails the just, or at least that they have not that grace of prayer, which is sufficient to obtain efficacious assistance to observe the commandments, and, consequently, that they have not power to fulfil them. In fine, the sense of this first proposition of his is, that some precepts are impossible even to the just, on account of the strength of earthly delectations, for then they want that Grace by which these commandments could be observed. He says: "Secundum præsentes quas habent vires;" by which he understands that these precepts, as to observance, are not absolutely impossible, but only relatively so, according to that stronger Grace, which would be necessary for them, and which they then want to enable them to observe them.

6.—This proposition, then, as we have already remarked, was condemned, first, as "Rash," since it is opposed to Scripture: "This commandment.....is not above thee" (Deut. xxx, 11);

(10) Jasen. *l.* 3, de Grat. Christi. *c.* 13.

"My yoke is easy and my burthen light" (Matt. xi, 30). The Council of Trent had already branded this same proposition as rash (*Sess.* vi, *c.* 11), when it was previously taught by Luther and Calvin: "Nemo temeraria illa, et a Patribus sub anathemate prohibita voce uti, Dei præcepta homini justificato ad observandum esse impossibilia." It was also condemned in the fifty-fourth proposition of Baius: "Definitiva hæc sententia: Deum homini nihil impossibile præcepisse, falso tribuitur Augustino, cum Pelagii sit." Secondly, it was condemned as "Impious;" for it makes of God an unjust tyrant, who obliges men to impossibilities and then condemns them for not performing them. Jansenius prides himself in having adopted all the doctrines of St. Augustin, and did not blush to entitle his book "Augustinus," though Anti-Augustinus would have been a more appropriate name, since the Saint, in his works, expressly opposes his impious opinions. St. Augustin taught (11) that God does not desert those once justified by his Grace, unless previously deserted by them; and Jansenius held up the Almighty void of all pity, since he says: "He deprives the just of grace without which they cannot escape sin, and so abandons them before they abandon him." Besides, St. Augustin writes, in opposition to this sentiment of Jansenius: "Quis non clamet stultum esse præcepta dare ei, cui liberum non est quod præcipitur facere? et iniquam esse eum damnare, cui non fuit potestas jussa complere" (12); and, above all, we have that celebrated Decree of the Council of Trent (*Sess.* vi, *c.* 11): "Deus impossibilia non jubet, sed jubendo monet et facere quod possis, et petere quod non possis, et adjuvat ut possis" (13). Thirdly, it was condemned as "Blasphemous;" for it makes out God to be without either faith or truth, since he has promised that he will not allow us to be tempted beyond our strength—"God is faithful who will not suffer you to be tempted above that which you are able" (I. Cor. x, 13)—and afterwards commands us to do what is not in our power. St. Augustin himself, from whom Jansenius falsely asserted he had learned this doctrine, calls it a blasphemy: "Exeeramur blasphemiam eorum, qui dicunt, impossibile aliquid a Deo esse præceptum" (14). Finally,

(11) St. August. lib. de Nat. et Grat. *c.* 26.
(12) Idem de Fide contra Manich. *l.* 10.
(13) St. August. lib. de Nat. et Grat. *c.* 43.
(14) Idem Serm. 191, de Temp.

it was condemned as heretical, being as we have seen opposed to the Holy Scriptures and to the definitions of the Church.

7.—The Jansenists still, however, made objections. First—That passage of St. Augustin, they say—"Deus sua gratia non deserit, nisi prius deseratur"—which is adopted by the Council of Trent (*Sess.* vi, *cap.* 11), is thus to be understood: That God does not deprive those who are justified of his habitual Grace before they fall into actual sin, but often deprives them of actual Grace before they sin. We reply, however, with St. Augustin himself, that our Lord, in justifying the sinner, not only gives him the Grace of remission, but also assistance to avoid sin in future; and this, says the Saint, is the virtue of the Grace of Jesus Christ: "Sanat Deus, non solum ut deleat quod peccavimus, sed ut præstet etiam ne peccemus" (15). If God, previous to sin, denied to man sufficient assistance not to fall into sin, he would not heal him, but rather abandon him, before he sinned. Secondly—They say that the text of St. Paul, already quoted—"God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that which you are able"—does not apply to all the faithful, but only to the predestined. But the text itself already shows that here all the faithful are spoken of, and it says: "But will make also with temptation issue, that you may be able to bear it" (I. Cor. x, 13). That is, that God permits his faithful servants to be tempted, that the temptation may be an occasion of merit and profit to them. We should not forget either, that St. Paul was writing to all the faithful of Corinth, and we are not aware that all the faithful of that city were predestined. St. Thomas, therefore, properly understands it as referring to all in general, and God, he says, would not be faithful if he did not grant them (as far as he himself was concerned) the necessary graces to work out their salvation: "Non autem videretur esse fidelis, si nobis denegaret (in quantum in ipso est) ea per quæ pervenire ad Eum possemus"(16).

8.—The second condemned proposition originates from the same principle of Jansenius, the "delectatio victrix" which necessitates the consent of his will: "Interior Grace in the state of corrupt nature is never resisted." This, says the sentence, we

(15) St. August. lib de Nat. & Grat. c. 26.

(16) St. Thom. Lect. 1, in cap. 1, Epist. 1 ad Cor.

declare heretical, and as such condemn it. Hear what Jansenius says in one place: "Dominante suavitate spiritus, voluntas Deum diligit, ut peccare non possit" (17). And again: "Gratiam Dei Augustinus ita victricem statuit supra voluntatis arbitrium, ut non raro dicat hominem operanti Deo per gratiam non posse resistere" (18). St. Augustin, however, in many passages, declares the contrary, and especially in one (19), in which, reproving the sinner, he says: "Cum per Dei adjutorium in potestate tua sit, utrum consentias Diabolo; quare non magis Deo, quam ipsi obtemperare deliberas." And, hence, the proposition was justly condemned as heretical, being, in fact, opposed to the Scripture: "You always resist the Holy Ghost" (Acts, vii, 51). It is also opposed to Councils—to that of Sens, celebrated in Paris, against the Lutherans, in 1528 (*p.* 1, *c.* 15), and to the Council of Trent (*Sess.* vi, *can.* 4), which fulminates an anathema against those who assert that we cannot go contrary to Grace: "Si quis dixerit, liberum hominis arbitrium a Deo motum et excitatum..... neque posse dissentire, si velit."

9.—The third proposition is: "To render us deserving or otherwise, in a state of corrupt nature, liberty, which excludes constraint, is sufficient." This has been declared heretical, and as such condemned. Jansenius, in several places, expresses this proposition. In one passage he says: "Duplex necessitas Augustino, coactionis, et simplex, seu voluntaria; illa, non hæc, repugnat libertati" (20). And again: "Necessitatem simplicem voluntatis non repugnare libertati" (21). And, in another place, he says, that our Theologians teach a paradox, when they say, "quod actus voluntatis propterea liber sit, quia ab illo desistere voluntas, et non agere potest;" that it is the liberty of indifference which is required for us to have merit or otherwise. His third proposition springs also from the supposed predominant delectation invented by him, which, according to him, forces the will to consent, and deprives it of the power of resistance. This, he asserts, is the doctrine of St. Augustin; but the Saint (22) denies that there can be sin where there is no liberty:

(17) Jansen. *l.* 4, de Grat. Christ. *c.* 9.
(18) Jansen. cod. tit. *l.* 2, *c* 24.
(19) St. August. Hom. 12, inter 50.
(20) St. Aug. *l.* 6, de Grat. Chr. *c.* 6.
(21) Idem cod. tit. *c.* 24.
(22) Idem, *l.* 3, de lib. arb. *c.* 3.

"Unde non est liberum abstinere;" and, on the contrary, in another place he says (23), that it is false that man, in this life, cannot resist Grace. Therefore, according to St. Augustin, man can at all times resist Grace, and always resist concupiscence, likewise, and it is only thus he can acquire merit or otherwise.

10.—The fourth proposition says: "That the Pelagians admitted the necessity of interior preventing Grace for every act in particular, even for the commencement of the Faith, and in this they were heretics, inasmuch as they wished that the human will could either resist it or obey it." This proposition consists of two parts—the first false, the second heretical. In the first part, Jansenius says that the Semipelagians admitted the necessity of internal and actual Grace for the beginning of Faith. Here are his words: "Massiliensium opinionibus, et Augustini doctrina quam diligentissime ponderata, certum esse debere sentio, quod Massilienses præter prædicationem, atque naturam, veram etiam, et internam, et actualem gratiam ad ipsam etiam Fidem, quam humanæ voluntatis ac libertatis adscribunt viribus, necesseriam esse fateantur" (24). This is false, then, for St. Augustin always taught as a dogma, that Grace was necessary for the commencement of Faith; but the Semipelagians, for the most part, denied it, as the Holy Doctor himself attests (25). In the second place, Jansenius says that the Semipelagians were heretics, in teaching that Grace was of such a nature that man could either use or reject it; hence, he called them, "Gratiæ medicinalis destructores, et liberi arbitrii præsumtores." In this, however, not the Massilians, but Jansenius himself, was heretical, in saying that free will had not the power of agreeing to or dissenting from Grace, contrary to the definition of the Council of Trent (*Sess.* vi, *can.* 4), which says: "Si quis dixerit liberum hominis arbitrium a Deo motum et excitatum non posse dissentire si velit.....anathema sit." With good reason, then, the proposition was branded as heretical.

11.—The fifth proposition says: "That it is Semipelagianism to say that Jesus Christ died or shed his blood for all men in general;" and this has been condemned as false, rash, and scan-

(23) St. Aug. de Nat. & Grat. *c.* 67.
(24) St. Aug. *l.* 2 de Peccator. merit. *c.* 17.
(25) Idem de Prædest. Ss. *c.* 3 in Ep. 227 ad Vital. *n.* 9.

dalous, and, understood in the sense that Christ died for the predestined alone, impious, blasphemous, contumelious, derogatory to the Divine goodness, and heretical. Therefore, if we are to understand the proposition in the sense that Jesus Christ died for the predestined alone, it is impious and heretical; and yet in this sense it is published in several places by Jansenius. In one passage he says: "Omnibus illis pro quibus Christus Sanguinem fudit, etiam sufficiens auxilium donari, quo non solum possint, sed etiam velint, et faciant id quod ab iis volendum, et faciendum esse decrevit" (26). Therefore, according to Jansenius, Jesus Christ offered up his blood solely for those whom he selected both to will and to perform good works, understanding by the *sufficiens auxilium* the assistance, *Quo* (as explained already), that is, efficacious Grace, which, according to him, necessarily obliges them to perform what is good. Immediately after he explains it even more clearly; for, speaking of St. Augustin, he says: "Nullo modo principiis ejus consentaneum est, ut Christus vel pro Infidelium, vel pro Justorum non perseverantium æterna salute mortuus esse sentiatur." See, then, how Jansenius explains how it is that our Saviour did not die for the just not predestined. When his proposition was, then, understood in this sense, it was justly censured as heretical, as opposed both to Scripture and Councils—as to the first Council of Nice, for example, in which, in the Symbol, or Profession of Faith (27), then promulgated, and afterwards confirmed by several other General Councils, it was decreed as follows: "Credimus in unum Deum Patrem..... et in unum Dom. Jesum Christum Filium Dei.....Qui propter nos homines; et propter nostram salutem descendit, et incarnatus est, et homo factus; passus est, et resurrexit," &c.

12.—Let us consider the proposition in general, that Christ did not die for all. Jansenius said it was an error against Faith to assert that he did: "Nec enim juxta doctrinam Antiquorum pro omnibus omnino Christus mortuus est, cum hoc potius tanquam errorem a Fide Catholica abhorrentem doceant esse respuendum" (28). And this opinion, he adds, was an invention of the Semipelagians. Understanding it in this sense, it was *false* and

(26) Jansen. *l.* 3 de Grat. Christ. *c.* 21.
(27) *Chap.* 4, *art.* 1, *n.* 16.
(28) Jansen. *l.* 3, de Grat. Christ. *c.* 3.

rash, as not in accordance with the Scripture, or the sentiments of the Holy Fathers. As Jesus Christ died for every individual in particular of the human race, some Theologians teach that he prepared the price for the redemption of all; and, therefore, say he is the Redeemer of all, solely *sufficientia pretii*. But the opinion more generally followed is, that he is the Redeemer *sufficientia voluntatis*, also—that is, that he desired, with a sincere will, to offer up his death to his Father, in order to obtain for all mankind the helps necessary for salvation.

13.—We do not agree in opinion with those who say that Jesus Christ died with equal affection for all, distributing to each individual the same Grace; for there can be no doubt that he died with special affection for the Faithful, and more especially for the elect, as he himself declared, previous to his Ascension: "I pray not for the world, but for them whom thou hast given me" (John, xvii, 9). And St. Paul says he is "the Saviour of all men, especially of the faithful" (I. Tim. iv, 10). Neither can we agree with others, who say that, for a great number, Christ has done nothing more than prepare the price sufficient to redeem them, but without offering it up for their salvation. This opinion, I think, is not in conformity with the Scripture, which says: "If one died for all, then all were dead; and Christ died for all," &c. (II. Cor. v, 14, 15). Therefore, as all were dead, through original sin, so Christ died for all. By his death he cancelled the general decree of death, which descended from Adam to all his posterity: "Blotting out the hand-writing of the decree which was against us, which was contrary to us; and he hath taken the same out of the way, fastening it to the cross" (Coll. ii, 14). Osea, speaking in the person of Christ, before his coming, says that he will, by his death, destroy that death which was produced by the sin of Adam: "I will be thy death, O death" (Osea, xiii, 14). And the Apostle St. Paul afterwards speaks to the same effect: "O death, where is thy victory" (I. Cor. xv, 15); meaning by that, that our Saviour, by his death, killed and destroyed the death brought among men by sin. Again, St. Paul says: "Jesus Christ, who gave himself a redemption for all" (I. Tim. ii, 5, 6); "Who is the Saviour of all men, especially of the faithful" (iv, 10); and St. John says that he "is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but

also for those of the whole world" (I. John, ii, 2). When I see the Scripture speaks thus so plainly, I do not know how any one can say that Jesus Christ, by his death, has only prepared a sufficient price for the redemption of all, but has not offered it to the Father for the redemption of all. Taken in that sense, we might say that Christ shed his blood even for the devils themselves, for there is no doubt but that this sacred blood would have been a price sufficient even to save them.

14.—This opinion is most clearly opposed, likewise, by many of the Holy Fathers, who say that Christ has not alone prepared the ransom, but, likewise, offered it to his Father for the salvation of all. St. Ambrose says: "Si quis autem non credit in Christum, generali beneficio ipse se fraudat; ut si quis clausis fenestris solis radios excludat, non ideo sol non est ortus omnibus" (29). The sun not alone prepares light for all, but offers its light, likewise to all, if they wish to avail themselves of it, and do not close their windows against it; and, in another place, the same Saint says, in the clearest manner: "Ipse pro omnibus mortem suam obtulit" (30). St. Jerome says just the same: "Christus pro nobis mortuus est, solus inventus est, qui pro omnibus, qui erant in peccatis mortui, offerretur" (31). St. Prosper says: "Salvator noster.....dedit pro Mundo Sanguinem suum (remark dedit, he *gave*, not paravit), et Mundus redimi noluit, quia lucem tenebræ non receperunt" (32). St. Anselm says: "Dedit redemptionem semetipsum pro omnibus, nullum excipiens, qui vellet redimi ad salvandum.....et ideo qui non salvantur, non de Deo, vel Mediatore possent conqueri, sed de seipsis, qui redemptionem quam Mediator dedit, noluerunt accipere" (33). And St. Augustin, explaining these words of St. John, "God sent not his Son into the world to judge the world, but that the world should be saved by him" (John, iii, 17), says: "Ergo, quantum in Medico est, sanare venit ægrotum. Ipse se interimit, qui præcepta Medici servare non vult. Sanat omnino Ille, sed non sanat invitum" (34). Remark the words, "quantum in Medico est, sanare venit ægrotum;" this shows that he

(29) St. Ambrose, in Ps. 118, *t.* 1, *p.* 1077.
(30) Idem, *l.* de Joseph, *c.* 7.
(31) St. Hier. in Ep. 2, ad Cor. *c.* 5.
(32) St. Prosp. ad object. 9, Gallor.
(33) St. Anselm. in *c.* 2, Ep. 1, ad Tim.
(34) St. Aug. Tract. 12, in Joan. circa fin.

did not alone come to prepare the price as the remedy of our evils, but that he offers it to every one sick, and willing to be healed.

15.—Then (perhaps those who hold the contrary opinion will say) God gives to the infidels who do not believe in him at all, the same sufficient Grace which he gives to the Faithful. I do not mean to say that he gives them the same Grace; but I hold, with St. Prosper, that he gives them, at all events, a lesser Grace—call it a remote Grace; and if they correspond to this, they will be exalted by the reception of a more abundant Grace, which will save them. Here are the Saint's words: "Adhibita semper est universis hominibus quædam supernæ mensura doctrinæ, quæ et si parcioris gratiæ fuit, sufficit tamen quibusdam ad remedium, omnibus ad testimonium" (35). A remedy to those who correspond to it, a testimony to those who do not. Hence it is, that among the thirty-one propositions, condemned by Alexander VIII., on the 7th of December, 1690, the fifth was that "Pagans, Jews, Heretics, and such like, receive no influx from Jesus Christ, and had nothing but a naked and powerless will, without any sufficient Grace:"—"Pagani, Judæi, Hæretici, aliique hujus generis nullum omnino accipiunt a Jesu Christo influxum; adeoque hinc recte inferes, in illis esse voluntatem nudam et inermem, sine omni gratia sufficienti." Finally, God does not blame us for ignorance alone, but only for culpable ignorance, which, in some sort, must be wilful; he does not punish the sick, but only those who refuse to be healed: "Non tibi deputatur ad culpam, quod invitus ignoras, sed quod negligis quærere quod ignoras. Nec quod vulnerata membra non colligis, sed quod volentem sanare contemnis" (36). There can be no doubt, then, but that Jesus Christ died for all, though, as the Council of Trent teaches, the benefit of his death does not avail all: "Verum, et si ille pro omnibus mortuus est, non omnes tamen mortis ejus beneficium recipiunt, sed ii dumtaxat quibus meritum passionis ejus communicatur" (*Sess.* vi, *c.* 3). This must be understood, as applying solely to infidels, who, being deprived of the Faith, do not, in effect, participate in the merits of the Redeemer, as the Faithful do, by means of the Faith and Sacra-

(35) St. Prosp. de Vocat. Gent. *c.* 4.

(36) St. August. *l.* 3, de lib. arb. *c.* 19, *n.* 53.

ments, though, through their own fault, all the Faithful even do not participate in the complete benefit of eternal salvation. The renowned Bossuet says that every one of the Faithful is bound to believe, with a firm Faith, that Jesus Christ died for his salvation; and this, he says, is the ancient tradition of the Catholic Church. And, in truth, every one of the Faithful is bound to believe that Jesus Christ died for us and for our salvation, according to the Symbol drawn up in the First General Council. [See the Historical Part of the Work (37), which says: "We believe in one God Almighty.....and one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God.....who, for us man, and for our salvation, descended, and was made flesh, and suffered," &c.] Now, when Jesus Christ died for us all who profess the Christian Faith, how can one say that he has not died for those who are not predestined, and that he does not wish them to be saved.

16.—We should, therefore, with a firm faith, believe that Jesus Christ died for the salvation of all the faithful. Every one of the faithful, says Bossuet, should believe with a firm faith that God wishes to save him, and that Jesus Christ has shed every drop of his blood for his salvation (38). The Council of Valence (*Can.* 4) had previously published the same doctrine: "Fideliter tenendum juxta Evangelicam, et Apostolicam veritatem, quod pro illis hoc datum pretium (sanguinis Cristi) teneamus, de quibus Dominus noster dicit.....Ita exaltari oportet Filium hominis, ut omnis, qui credit in ipsum, non pereat, sed habeat vitam æternam" (39). The Church of Lyons, also, in its Book of the Truth of the Scripture, says: "Fides Catholica tenet, et Scripturæ sanctæ veritas docet, quod pro omnibus credentibus, et regeneratis vere Salvator noster sit passus" (40). Antoine, in his Scholastic and Dogmatic Theology (41), says: "Est Fidei Dogma Christum mortuum esse pro salute æterna omnium omnino Fidelium." Tournelly (42) teaches the same, and quotes the Body of Doctrine, published by Cardinal de Noailles, in 1720, and signed by ninety Bishops, which says, "that every one of the faithful is bound by firm Faith to believe that Jesus Christ shed

(37) *Chap.* 4, *art.* 2, *n.* 16.
(38) Bossuet, lib. Justisic. des Reflex. &c. *sec.* 16, *p.* 100.
(39) Syn. Valent. com. Concil. *p.* 136.
(40) Eccl. Lugdun. *l.* de ten. ver. &c. *c.* 5.
(41) Antoine Theol. univers. *t.* 2, de Grat. *c.* 1, *a.* 6, ad Prop. 5.
(42) Tourn. Theol. *t.* 1, *q.* 8, *art.* 10, Concl. 2.

his whole blood for his salvation." And the Assembly of the Gallican Clergy, in 1714, declared that all the faithful, both just and sinners, are bound to believe that Jesus Christ has died for their salvation.

17.—Now, when the Jansenists held that our Redeemer did not die for all the faithful, but only for the elect, they say, then, he had no love for us. One of the principal motives which induces us to love our Saviour and his Eternal Father, who has given him to us, is the great work of Redemption, by which we know that for love of us the Son of God sacrificed himself on the Cross: "He loved us, and delivered himself up for us" (Ephes. v, 2). It was this same love that inclined the Eternal Father to give up his only begotten Son: "God so loved the world as to give up his only begotten Son" (John iii, 16). This was the chief incentive St. Augustin made use of to inflame Christians with the love of Jesus: "Ipsum dilige; qui ad hoc descendit, ut pro tua salute sufferret" (43). When the Jansenists, then, believe that Christ died solely for the elect, how can they have for him an ardent affection, as having died for love of them, when they cannot be sure that they are among the number of the predestined? They must, consequently, be in doubt that Christ died for love of them.

18.—This belief of theirs, that Christ did not die for all the faithful, is also totally destructive of Christian hope. Christian hope, as St. Thomas defines it, is an expected certainty of eternal life: "Spes est expectatio certa beatitudinis" (44). We are, therefore, bound to hope that God will surely save us, trusting to the promises of salvation, through the merits of Jesus Christ, who died to save us, if we correspond to his grace. This is what Bossuet states, also, in the Catechism which he composed for his Diocese of Meaux: Q. Why do you say that you hope for the eternal life which God has promised? A. Because the promise of God is the foundation of our hope (45).

19.—A modern writer, in a work entitled "Christian Confidence," says that we should not found the certainty of our hope on the general promise made by God to all believers, that he will give them eternal life, if they faithfully correspond to his Grace,

(43) St. August. Tract. 2, in Ep. 1, Jo.
(44) St. Thom. 2, 2, *q.* 18, *a.* 4.
(45) Bossuet Catech. Meldens. 3, *p.* 161, *n.* 117.

although our Lord in several places makes this promise: "If any man keep my word, he shall not taste death for ever" (John, viii, 52); "If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments" (Matt. xix, 17). This general promise, says this writer, made to all Christians who observe the Divine Commandments, is not enough to give a certain hope of salvation; for, as it is subject to a condition which may not be fulfilled, that is, that we should correspond to it, it only gives us an uncertain hope. Hence, he says, we ought to found our hope on that particular promise of salvation given to the elect; for, as this promise is absolute, it is the foundation of a certain hope. Hence, he concludes, that our hope consists in appropriating to ourselves the promise made to the elect, by considering ourselves enrolled among the number of the predestined. The opinion, however, I imagine, does not square with the doctrine of the Council of Trent (*Sess.* vi, *cap.* 16), which says: "In Dei auxilio firmissimam spem collocare omnes debent, Deus enim, nisi ipsi illius gratiæ defuerint, sicut cæpit opus bonum, ita perficiet." And, therefore, though we should fear on our part that we may lose our salvation, by abusing Grace, still we should have a most firm hope, on the part of God, that he will save us by his Divine assistance: "In Deo auxilio (says the Council) firmissimum spem collocare omnes debent." All should hope, the Council says; for even those who are buried in sin frequently receive from God the gift of Christian hope, expecting that our Lord, through the merits of Jesus Christ, will show them his mercy; and hence the same Council says, speaking of sinners: "Ad considerandam Dei misericordiam se convertendo, in spem eriguntur, fidentes Deum sibi propter Christum propitium fore." St. Thomas says to those who are in a state of Grace, that the dread of falling away from it should not weaken the certainty of this hope, which is founded on the Divine power and mercy, which cannot fail: "Dicendum quod hoc quod aliqui habentes Spem deficiant a consecutione beatitudinis, contigit ex defectu liberi arbitrii ponentis obstaculum peccati, non autem ex defectu potentiæ, vel misericordiæ, cui Spes innititur; unde hoc non præjudicat certitudini Spei" (46). Our hope is, therefore, made certain, not by regarding ourselves as

(46) St. Thom. 2, 2, *qu.* 18, *art.* 4 ad 3.

written among the number of the elect, but by being based on the power and mercy of God; nor should the uncertainty of our correspondence with Grace prevent us from having this certain hope of salvation, founded on the power, and mercy, and faithfulness of God, who has promised it to us through the merits of Jesus Christ, since this promise never can fail, if we fail not to correspond to it.

20.—Besides, if our hope, as this writer says, was to be founded on the promise alone made to the elect, it would be uncertain not only as far as concerned ourselves, but with regard to God, likewise; for as we are not sure that we are enrolled among the number of the predestined, neither could we be sure of the Divine assistance promised to us to work out our salvation; and as the number of the reprobate is much greater than that of the elect, we would have greater reason to despair of, than to hope for, salvation. The writer has taken notice of this difficulty, and admits it to be a most important one. The number of the elect, he says, is, without comparison, much smaller than the reprobate, even among those called. One will, then, ask himself, in this difficulty: Why should I imagine myself to belong to the lesser, instead of the greater number? And, on the other hand, I am commanded to hope; but how can I think that I am separated from the number of the reprobate in the decrees of the Almighty, when he commands the reprobates to hope as well as me? Let us see how he extricates himself out of this difficulty. It is, he says, a mystery which we cannot understand; and, as we are bound to believe the articles of Faith, though we cannot comprehend them, because God commands to do so; so, in like manner, and for the same reason, we should hope, though our reason cannot explain the difficulty we encounter. The true answer, however, is, that the writer, to uphold his system, imagines a mystery in the Commandment to hope which does not exist in reality. In Faith there are mysteries which we are bound to believe, without being able to comprehend, as the Trinity, Incarnation, &c.; these are beyond our reason; but in the Commandment to hope there is no mystery, for this precept merely regards eternal life, and the motive we have in hoping for it, the promise of God to save us through the merits of Christ, if we correspond to his Grace, and all this is clear to us,

and no mystery. On the other hand, when it is most true that all the faithful should have a most firm hope of salvation, by the assistance of God, as the Council, St. Thomas, and all Theologians teach, how can we most firmly and most surely hope for this salvation, by hoping that we are among the number of the elect, when we do not know for certain, nor have we any certain argument in Scripture, to prove that we are comprised in that number?

21.—There are, to besure, powerful arguments in the Scriptures to induce us to hope for eternal life,—Confidence, and Prayer; for God tells us that "No one hoped in the Lord and hath been confounded" (Eccles. ii, 11); and our Redeemer says: "Amen, I say to you, if you ask the Father anything in my name he will give it to you" (John, xvi, 23). But if, as this writer said, the certainty of our hope consisted in considering ourselves among the number of the elect, where would we find a foundation in Scripture for believing that we belong to that number? We would rather find proofs to the contrary, as that the elect were but few in comparison with the reprobate: "Many are called, but few are chosen" (Matt. xx, 16); "Fear not, little flock," &c. (Luke, xii, 32). To conclude the subject, however, I will quote the words of the Council of Trent: "In Dei auxilio firmissimam spem collocare omnes debent," &c. Now God having commanded all to repose in his assistance a certain hope of salvation, he ought to give a sure foundation for this hope. The promise made to the elect is a sure foundation for them, but not for us individually, since we do not know that we are of the elect. The certain foundation, then, that each of us has to hope for salvation, is not the particular promise made to the elect, but the general promise of assistance made to all the faithful to save them if they correspond to grace. To make the matter more brief: If all the faithful are obliged to hope with certainty for salvation in the Divine assistance, and this assistance being promised not to the elect alone but to all the faithful, it is on this, then, that every one of the faithful should base his hope.

22.—To return to Jansenius. He wants us to believe that Christ did not die for all men, not even for all the faithful, but only for the predestined. If that were the case Christian hope would exist no longer, for, as St. Thomas says, hope is a sure

foundation on the part of God, and this foundation is in fact the promise made by God to give, through the merits of Christ, eternal life to all who observe his law. Hence St. Augustin said that the certainty of his hope was in the blood of Christ, shed for our salvation : " Omnis spes, et totius fiduciæ certitudo mihi est in pretioso Sanguine ejus, qui effusus est propter nos, et propter nostram salutem" (46). The death of Christ, then, as the Apostle tells us, is the sure and firm anchor of our hope : " We may have the strongest comfort who have fled for refuge to hold fast the hope set before us, which we have as an anchor of the soul, sure and firm" (Heb. vi, 18, 19). St. Paul had previously, in the same chapter, explained what this hope was which was proposed to us—the promise made to Abraham to send Jesus Christ to redeem mankind If Jesus Christ had not died, then, at least for all the faithful, the anchor St. Paul speaks of would not be secure or firm, but weak and doubtful, not having that sure foundation, the blood of Jesus Christ shed for our salvation. See, then, how the doctrine of Jansenius destroys Christian hope. Let us, then, leave their opinions to the Jansenists, and warmly excite in our hearts a confidence of salvation, through the death of Jesus Christ, but still let us never cease to fear and tremble, as the Apostle says : " With fear and trembling work out your salvation" (Phil. ii, 12). Notwithstanding the death of Christ, we may be lost through our own fault. Thus, during our whole lives, we should fear and hope, but hope should predominate, for we have stronger reasons to hope in God that to fear him.

23.—Some people give themselves a great deal of trouble by seeking to penetrate the order of God's Divine judgments, and the great mystery of Predestination. These mysterious secrets of the Most High our weak intellects never can arrive at. Let us then leave these secrets which God keeps to himself, since we have so many things to learn which he has revealed for our instruction. First, he wishes us to know that he ardently desires that all should be saved, and that none should perish : " Who will have all men to be saved" (I. Tim. ii, 4) ; " Not willing that any should perish, but that all should return to penance" (II. Pet. iii, 9). Secondly, he wishes us to know that Jesus Christ died

(46) St. August. Medis. 50, cap. 14.

for all: "Christ died for all, that they also who live may not now live to themselves but unto him who died for them, and rose again" (II. Cor. v, 15). Thirdly, he wishes us to know that he who is lost is so through his own fault, since he provides all the requisite means for his salvation: "Destruction is thy own, O Israel, thy help is only in me" (Osee, xiii, 9). It will not avail sinners in the day of judgment to excuse themselves by saying that they could not resist temptation, for the Apostle teaches that God is faithful, and will suffer no one to be tempted beyond his strength: "God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted beyond what you are able" (I. Cor. x, 13). If we require more strength to resist we have only to ask the Almighty, and he will give it to us, for with his assistance we can subdue all carnal and infernal temptations: "Ask and it shall be given unto you" (Matt. vii, 7); "Every one that asketh receiveth" (Luke, ii, 10). St. Paul shows that he is most bountiful to those who invoke him: "Rich unto all that call upon him, for whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved" (Rom. x, 12, 13).

24.—Behold, then, the sure means of obtaining salvation. We should pray to God for light and strength to accomplish his will, but we should also pray with humility, confidence, and perseverance, which are the three requisites for prayer to be heard. We should labour to co-operate to our salvation as much as we can, without waiting for God to do every thing while we do nothing. Let the order of predestination be as it will, and let heretics say what they like, one thing is certain, that if we are to be saved, it is our good works that will save us, and if we are to be damned it is our own sins that will damn us. Let us place, however, all our hopes of salvation, not in our own works, but in the Divine mercy, and in the merits of Jesus Christ, and we shall be surely saved. If we are saved, then, it will be solely by the grace of God, for even our good works are but gifts of his grace, and if we are lost it is solely through our own sins. It is this truth that preachers should frequently hold up to the people, and not go into the pulpit to make subtle theological disquisitions, uttering opinions not taught by the Fathers, and Doctors, and Martyrs of the Church, and explaining things in a way only calculated to make their hearers uneasy.

REFUTATION XIV.

THE HERESY OF MICHAEL MOLINOS.

1.—This heresiarch preached two impious maxims; one did away with every thing good, the other admitted every thing evil. His first maxim was that the contemplative soul should fly from and banish all sensible acts of the will and understanding, which, according to him, impede contemplation, and thus deprive man of all those means which God has given him to acquire salvation. When the soul, he said, had given itself entirely up to God, and annihilated its will, resigning itself entirely into his hands, it becomes perfectly united with God, it should then have no further care for its salvation, no longer occupy itself with meditations, thanksgivings, prayers, devotion to Holy Images, or even to the Most Holy Humanity of Jesus Christ; it should avoid all devout affections of hope, of self sacrifice, of love for God, and in fine, drive away all good thoughts and avoid all good actions, for all these are opposed to contemplation, and to the perfection of the soul.

2.—That we may perceive how poisoning this maxim is, we should know what is Meditation and what Contemplation. In meditation we labour to seek God by reasoning and by good acts, but in contemplation we behold him without labour, already found. In meditation the mind labours operating with its powers, but in contemplation it is God himself who operates, and the soul merely receives the infused gifts of his grace, *anima potitur*. Hence, when the soul is by passive contemplation absorbed in God, it should not strain itself to make acts and reflections, because then God supports it in an union of love with himself. "Then," says St. Theresa, "God occupies with his light the understanding, and prevents it from thinking of anything else." "When God," says the Saint, "wishes that our understanding should cease to reason, he occupies it, and gives us a knowledge superior to that which we can arrive at, and keeps the intellect suspended." But then she also remarks that the gift of contemplation and suspension of the intellectual powers, when

it comes from God, produces good effects, but when it is procured by ourselves only makes the soul more dry than before. Sometimes in prayer, she says, we have a beginning of devotion which comes from God, and we wish to pass of ourselves into this quietude of will, but if it is procured by ourselves it is of no effect, it is soon over, and leaves nothing but dryness behind. This is the defect which St. Bernard noticed in those who wish to pass from the foot to the mouth, alluding to that passage in the Canticle of Canticles, which refers to holy contemplation: "Let him kiss me with the kiss of his mouth" (Cant. i, 1). "Longus saltus," says the Saint, "et arduus de pede ad os."

3.—It may be objected to us, however, that our Lord says by David: "Be still, and see that I am God" (Psalm xlv, 11). The word "be still," however, does not mean that the soul should remain in a total state of quiescence in prayer, without meditating, offering up affections, or imploring grace. "Be still" means that in order to know God, and the immensity of his goodness, it is sufficient to abstain from vices, to remove ourselves from the cares of the world, to suppress the desires of self-love, and to detach ourselves from the goods of this life. That great mistress of prayer, St. Theresa, says: "It is necessary on our part to prepare ourselves for prayer; when God elevates us higher, to Him alone be the glory. When, therefore, in prayer, God elevates us to contemplation, and makes us feel that he wishes to speak to us, and does not wish that we should address him, we should not try to do anything then ourselves, lest we impede the Divine operation in us; we should only apply our loving attention to the voice of God, and say: 'Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth.' When God, however, does not speak to us, then we should address him in prayer, making acts of contrition, acts of love, purposes of advancement in perfection, and not lose our time doing nothing." St. Thomas says: "Contemplatio diu durare non potest, licet quantum ad alios contemplationis actus, possint diu durare" (1). True contemplation, in which the soul is absorbed in God, can operate nothing, and does not last long; the effects of it, however, last, and so, when the soul returns to the active state, it ought to return also to labour, to preserve the

(1) St. Thomas, 2, 2 *q.* 180, *a.* 8, ad 2.

fruit received in contemplation, by reading, reflecting, offering up pious affections, and performing similar acts of devotion, because, as St. Augustin confesses, he always felt himself, after being exalted to some unusual union with God, drawn back again as it were by a weight, to the miseries of this life, so that he felt obliged again to assist himself by acts of the will and the understanding, to an union with God. He says: "Aliquando, intromittis me in affectum inusitatum.....sed recido in hæc ærumnosis ponderibus, et resorbeor solitis" (2).

4.—We have now to examine the pernicious propositions of Molinos, of which I will merely quote the principal ones, which will clearly show the impiety of his system. In his first proposition he says: "Oportet hominem suas potentias annihilare, et hæc est via interna;" in the second: "Velle operari active, est Deum offendere, qui vult esse Ipse solus agens; et ideo opus est seipsum in Deo totum, et totaliter delinquere, et postea permanere velut corpus exanime." Thus he wished, that, abandoning all to God, man should do nothing, but remain like a dead body, and that the wish to perform any good act of the intellect or the will was an offence against God, who wishes to do every thing by himself; this, he said, was the annihilation of the powers of the soul, which renders it divine, and transfuses it in God, as he said in his fifth proposition: "Nihil operando Anima se annihilat, et ad suum principium redit, et ad suam originem, quæ est essentia Dei, in quem trasformata remanet, ac divinizata.....et tunc non sunt amplius duæ res unitæ, sed una tantum." See what a number of errors in few words.

5.—Hence, also, he prohibited his disciples from having any care about, or even taking any heed of, their salvation, for the perfect soul, said he, should think neither of hell or paradise: "Qui suum liberum arbitrium Deo Donavit, de nulla re debet curam habere, nec de Inferno, nec de Paradiso; nec desiderium propriæ perfectionis, nec propriæ salutis, cujus *spem purgare* debet." Remark the words "spem purgare." To hope for our salvation, then, or make acts of hope, is a defect; to meditate on death and judgment, hell and heaven, shows a want of perfection, although our Lord says that the meditation on them is the greatest

(2) St. Aug. Conf. *l.* 10, *c.* 40.

safeguard against sin: "In all thy works remember thy last end, and thou shalt never sin" (Eccles. vii, 40). He also taught that we should make no acts of love towards the Saints, the Divine Majesty, or even Jesus Christ himself, for we should banish all sensible objects from our soul. See his thirty-fifth proposition: "Nec debent elicere actus amoris erga B. Virginem, Sanctos, aut humanitatem Christi; quia, cum ista objecta sensibilia sint, talis est amor erga illa." Good God! to prohibit acts of love towards Jesus Christ, because he is a sensible object, and prohibits our union with God! But, as St. Augustin says, when we approach Jesus Christ, is it not God himself we approach, for he is both God and man? How even can we approach God, unless through Jesus Christ? "Quo imus nisi ad Jesum, et qua imus, nisi per Ipsum?"

6.—This is exactly what St. Paul says: "For by him we have access both in one spirit to the Father" (Ephes. ii, 18). And our Saviour himself says in St. John: "I am the door. By me if any man enter in, he shall be saved, and he shall go in and go out, and shall find pastures" (John, x, 9). "He shall go in and go out," that is, as an author quoted by Cornelius Lapide explains it: "Ingredietur ad Divinitatem meam, et egredietur ad humanitatem, et in utriusque contemplatione mira pascua inveniet." Thus, whether the soul contemplates Jesus either as God or man, it will always find pastures. St. Theresa having once read in one of these condemned mystical books, that stopping in the contemplation of Christ prevented the soul from passing on to God, began to adopt this evil practice, but she constantly afterwards grieved for having done so. "Is it possible, my Lord," she says, "that you could be an impediment to me for greater good. Whence does all good come to me, if not from you alone?" She afterwards says: "I have seen that in order to please God, and that we may obtain great graces from him, he wishes that every thing should pass through the hands of this Most Holy Humanity, in which he has declared that he is well pleased."

7.—Molinos, in prohibiting us from thinking of Jesus Christ, consequently prevented us from meditating on his passion, though all the Saints have done nothing else during their lives than meditate on the ignominy and sufferings of our loving Saviour. St. Augustin says: "Nihil tam salutiferum quam quotidie cogi-

tare, quanta pro nobis pertulit Deus homo;" and St. Bonaventure: "Nihil enim in Anima ita operatur universalem sanctificationem, sicut meditatio Passionis Christi." St. Paul said he wished to know nothing but Christ crucified: "For I judged not myself to know anything among you but Jesus Christ, and him crucified" (Cor. ii, 2). And withal, Molinos says we ought not to think on the humanity of Jesus Christ.

8.—He also had the impiety to teach, that we should ask nothing from God, for petitioning is a defect of our own will. Here is his fourteenth proposition: "Qui Divinæ voluntati resignatus est, non convenit ut a Deo rem aliquam petat; quia petere est imperfectio, cum sit actus propriæ voluntatis. Illud autem *Petite* et *accipietis*, non est dictum a Christo pro Animabus internis," &c. He thus deprives the soul of the most efficacious means of obtaining perseverance in a good life, and arriving at the Grace of perfection. Jesus Christ himself, in the Gospel, tells us to pray unceasingly: "We ought always to pray, and not to faint" (Luke, xviii, 1); "Watch ye, therefore, praying at all times" (Luke, xxi, 36); and St. Paul says: "Pray without ceasing" (I. Thes. v, 17); and "Be instant in prayer" (Col. iv, 2). And still Molinos will tell us not to pray, and that prayer is an imperfection. St. Thomas (3) says that continual prayer is necessary for us till our salvation is secured; for though our sins may have been remitted, still the world and the devil will never cease to attack us till the last hour of our lives: "Licet remittantur peccata, remanet tamen fomes peccati nos impugnant interius, et mundus et Dæmones, qui impugnant exterius." In this battle we cannot conquer without the Divine assistance, and this is only to be acquired by prayer, as St. Augustin teaches us, that except the first Grace, that is, the vocation to Grace or Penance, every other Grace, especially that of perseverance, is only given to those who pray for it: "Deus nobis dat aliqua non orantibus, ut initium Fidei, alia nonnisi orantibus præparavit, sicut perseverantiam."

9.—We have now to examine his second maxim, which, as we said in the commencement, allows evil to be innocent. When the soul, he says, is given up to God, whatever happens in the

(3) St. Thom. 3 *p. q.* 1, 39, *a.* 5.

body is of no harm, even though we perceive that it is something unlawful; for the will, as he said, being then given to God, whatever happens in the flesh is to be attributed to the violence of the devil and of passion; so that, in that case, we should only make a negative resistance, and permit our nature to be disturbed, and the devil to operate. Here is his seventeenth proposition: "Tradito Deo libero arbitrio, non est amplius habenda ratio tentationum, nec eis alia resistentia fieri debet nisi negativa, nulla adhibita industria; et si natura commovetur, oportet sinere ut commoveatur, quia est natura." And in the forty-seventh proposition, also, he says: "Cum hujusmodi violentiæ occurrunt, sinere oportet, ut Satanas operetur.....etiamsi sequantur pollutiones, et pejora.....et non opus est hæc confiteri."

10.—Thus this deceiver led people astray, though our Lord tells us, through St. James: "Resist the devil, and he will fly from you" (James, iv, 7). It is not sufficient, then, to take no active part, *negative se habere*, we are not to allow the devil to operate in us, and our concupiscence to be gratified, for God commands us to resist him with all our strength. Nothing can be more false than what he says in his forty-first proposition: "Deus permittit, et vult ad nos humiliandos.....quod Dæmon violentiam inferat corporibus, et actus carnales committere faciat" &c. Nay, it is most false, for St. Paul teaches us that God will not allow us to be tempted above our strength: "God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that which you are able; but will make also with temptation issue, that you may be able to bear it" (I. Cor. x, 13). The meaning of the Apostle is this: that God will not fail to give us sufficient assistance in time of temptation to resist with our will, and by this resistance our temptations will be advantageous to us. He allows the devil to tempt us to sin; "but, as St. Jerom says, he will not permit him to force us: "Persuadere potest, præcipitare non potest." And St. Augustin (4) says that he is like a chained dog, who can bark at us, but not bite us, unless we put ourselves in his power. No matter how violent the temptation may be, if we call on God we will never fail: "Call on me in the day of trouble.....I will deliver you" (Psalm xlix, 15); "Praising I will

(4) St. August. *l.* 5, de Civ. *c.* 20.

call upon the Lord, and I will be saved from my enemies" (Psalm xvii, 4). It is on this account that St. Bernard says (5) that prayer prevails over the devil, and St. Chrysostom, that nothing is more powerful than the prayer of a man.

11.—In his forty-fifth proposition Molinos says that St. Paul suffered violence in his body from the devil, for the Saint says: "The good I will, I do not; but the evil which I will not, that I do." But we reply, that by the words "that I do," the Apostle only intends to say that he could not avoid involuntary motions of concupiscence; and, therefore, he says again: "Now that is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me" (Rom. viii, 17). In his forty-ninth proposition, also, he adduces the example of Job: "Job ex violentia Dæmonis se propriis manibus polluebat eodem tempore, *quo mundas habebat ad Deum præces.*" What a shocking perversion of the Scripture. Job says (*chap.* xvi): "These things I have suffered without the iniquity of my hand, when I offered pure prayers to God." Now, is there any allusion to indecency in this text? In the Hebrew, and the version of the Septuagint, as Du Hamel informs us, the text is: "I have not neglected God, nor injured any one." Therefore, by the words "these things I have suffered without the iniquity of my hand," Job meant to say that he never injured his neighbour; as Menochius explains it: "I raised up my hands to God unstained by plunder or by any other crime." In his fifty-first proposition, also, he quotes in his defence the example of Sampson: "In sacra Scriptura multa sunt exempla violentiarum ad actus externos peccaminosos, ut illud Sampsonis, qui per violentiam seipsum occidit, cum Philistæi" &c. We reply, however, with St. Augustin, that this self-destruction of Sampson was accomplished by the pure inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and that is proved by the restoration to him, at the time, of his miraculous strength by the Almighty, who employed him as an instrument for the chastisement of the Philistines; for he having repented of his sins before he grasped the pillar which supported the building, prayed to the Lord to restore him his original strength: "But he called upon the Lord, saying: O Lord God, remember me, and restore me now to my former strength." And hence, St. Paul places

(5) St. Bern. Serm. 49, de Modo bene viv. *ar.* 7.

him among the Saints: "Sampson, Jeptha, David, Samuel, and the Prophets, who, by Faith, conquered kingdoms, wrought justice," &c. (Heb. xi, 32, 33). Behold, then, the impiety of the system of this filthy impostor. He had good reason to thank the Almighty for his mercies, in giving him Grace to die repentant, after his imprisonment of several years (*Hist. c.* 13, *ar.* 5, *n.* 32).

REFUTATION XIV.

BERRUYER'S ERRORS.

The abstruse matters treated of in this Chapter will not, perhaps, be interesting to the general reader; but several will be desirous to study profoundly the mysteries of the Faith, and to them this will be highly interesting and instructive.

SUMMARY OF THESE ERRORS.

§ I.—Jesus Christ was created in time, by an operation *ad extra*, natural Son of God, of one God, subsisting in three Persons, who united the Humanity of Christ with a Divine Person.

§ II.—Jesus Christ, during the three days he was in the sepulchre, as he ceased to be a living man, consequently ceased to be the Son of God, and when God raised him again from the dead, he again begot him, and caused him to be again the Son of God.

§ III.—It was the Humanity alone of Christ which obeyed, prayed, and suffered; and his oblations, prayers, and meditations were not operations, produced from the Word, as from a physical and efficient principle, but, in this sense, were mere actions of his Humanity.

§ IV.—The miracles performed by Jesus Christ were not done

by his own power, but only obtained by him from the Father by his prayers.

§ V.—The Holy Ghost was not sent to the Apostles by Jesus Christ, but by the Father alone, through the prayers of Jesus Christ.

§ VI.—Several other errors of his on various subjects.

1.—Reading in the Bullarium of Benedict XIV. a Brief, which begins "*Cum ad Congregationem*," &c., published on the 17th of April, 1758, I see there prohibited and condemned the second part of a work (the first having been condemned in 1734), entitled the "History of the People of God, according to the New Testament," written by Father Isaac Berruyer; and all translations of the work into any language whatever are also condemned and prohibited. The whole of Berruyer's work, then, and the Latin Dissertations annexed, and the Defence, printed along with the Italian edition, are all condemned, as containing propositions false, rash, scandalous, favouring and approaching to heresy, and foreign to the common sense of the Fathers and the Church in the interpretation of Scripture. This condemnation was renewed by Pope Clement XIII., on the 2nd of December, 1758, and the literal Paraphrase of the Epistles of the Apostles, after the Commentaries of Hardouin, was included in it: "Quod quidem Opus ob doctrinæ fallaciam, et contortas Sacrarum Litterarum interpretationes.....scandali mensuram implevit." With difficulty, I procured a copy of the work, and I took care also to read the various essays and pamphlets in which it was opposed. It went, however, through several editions, though the author himself gave it up, and submitted to the sentence of the Archbishop of Paris, who, with the other Bishops of France, condemned it. Besides the Pontifical and Episcopal condemnation, it was prohibited, likewise, by the Inquisition, and burned by the common hangman, by order of the Parliament of Paris. Father Zacchary, in his Literary History, says that he rejects the Work, likewise, and that the General of the Jesuits, whose subject F. Berruyer was, declared that the Society did not recognize it.

2.—I find in the treatises written to oppose Berruyer's work, that the writers always quote the errors of the author in his

own words, and these errors are both numerous and pernicious, especially those regarding the Mysteries of the Trinity, and the Incarnation of the Eternal Word, against which especially the devil has always worked, through so many heresies; for these Mysteries are the foundation of our Faith and salvation, as Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is God made man, the fountain of all Graces, and of all hope for us; and hence, St. Peter says that, unless in Jesus, there is no salvation: "Neither is there salvation in any other" (Acts, iv, 12).

3.—I was just concluding this Work, when I heard of Berruyer's work, and the writings opposing it; and, to tell the truth, I was anxious to conclude this work of mine, and rest myself a little after the many years of labour it cost me; but the magnitude and danger of his errors induced me to refute his book as briefly as I could. Remember that, though the work itself was condemned by Benedict XIV. and Clement XIII., the author was not, since he at once bowed to the decision of the Church, following the advice of St. Augustin, who says that no one can be branded as a heretic, who is not pertinaciously attached to, and defends his errors: "Qui sententiam suam, quamvis falsam, atque perversam, nulla pertinaci animositate defendunt.....corrigi parati cum invenerint, nequaquam sunt inter Hæreticos deputandi."

4.—Before we commence the examination of Berruyer's errors, I will give a sketch of his system, that the reader may clearly understand it. His system is founded principally on two Capital Propositions, both as false as can be. I say Capital ones, for all the other errors he published depend on them. The first and chief proposition is this, that Jesus Christ is the natural Son of one God, but of God *subsisting in three Persons;* that is to say, that Jesus Christ is Son, but not Son of the Father, as Principal, and first Person of the Trinity, but Son of the Father subsisting in three Persons, and, therefore, he is, properly speaking, the Son of the Trinity. The second proposition, which comes from the first, and is also what I call a Capital one, is this, that all the operations of Jesus Christ, both corporal and spiritual, are not the operations of the Word, but only of his Humanity, and from this, then, he deduced many false and damnable consequences. Although, as we have already seen,

Berruyer himself was not condemned, still his book is a sink of extravagancies, follies, novelties, confusion, and pernicious errors, which, as Clement XIII. says, in his Brief, obscure the principal Articles of our Faith, so that Arians, Nestorians, Sabellians, Socinians, and Pelagians, will all find, some more, some less, something to please them in this work. There are mixed up with all this many truly Catholic sentiments, but these rather confuse than enlighten the mind of the reader. We shall now examine his false doctrine, and especially the first proposition, the parent, we may say, of all the rest.

§ I.

BERRUYER SAYS THAT JESUS CHRIST WAS MADE IN TIME, BY AN OPERATION *ad extra*, THE NATURAL SON OF GOD, ONE SUBSISTING IN THREE PERSONS, WHO UNITED THE HUMANITY OF CHRIST WITH A DIVINE PERSON.

5.—He says, first: "Jesus Christus D. N. vere dici potest et debet naturalis Dei Filius; Dei, inquam, ut vox illa Deus supponit pro Deo uno et vero subsistente in tribus personis, agente ad extra, et per actionem transeuntem et liberam uniente humanitatem Christi cum Persona Divina in unitatem Personæ" (1). And he briefly repeats the same afterwards: "Filius factus in tempore Deo in tribus Personis subsistenti" (2). And again: "Non repugnat Deo in tribus Personis subsistenti, fieri in tempore, et esse Patrem Filii naturalis, et veri." Jesus Christ, then, he says, should be called the Natural Son of God, not because (as Councils, Fathers, and all Theologians say) the Word assumed the humanity of Christ in unity of Person; and thus our Saviour was true God and true man—true man, because he had a human soul and body, and true God, because the Eternal Word, the true Son of God, true God generated from the Father, from all eternity, sustained and terminated the two Natures of Christ, Divine and human, but because, according to Berruyer, God, *subsisting in three Persons*, united the Word to

(1) Berruyer, *t.* 8, *p.* 59. 2 Idem, ibid, *p.* 60.

the humanity of Christ, and thus Jesus Christ is the natural Son of God, not because he is the Word, born of the Father, but because he was made the Son of God in time, by God subsisting in three Persons, "uniente humanitatem Christi cum Persona Divina." Again, he repeats the same thing, in another place: "Rigorose loquendo per ipsam formaliter actionem unientem Jesus Christus constituitur tantum Filius Dei naturalis." The natural Son, according to Hardouin's and Berruyer's idea; because the real natural Son of God, was the only begotten Son, begotten from the substance of the Father; and hence, the Son that Berruyer speaks of, produced from the three Persons, is Son in name only. It is not repugnant, he says, to God to become a Father in time, and to be the Father of a true and natural Son, and he always explains this of God, subsisting in three Divine Persons.

6.—Berruyer adopted this error from his master, John Hardouin, whose Commentary on the New Testament was condemned by Benedict XIV., on the 28th of July, 1743. He it was who first promulgated the proposition, that Jesus Christ was not the Son of God as the Word, but only as man, united to the Person of the Word. Commenting on that passage of St. John, "In the beginning was the Word," he says: "Aliud esse Verbum, aliud esse Filium Dei, intelligi voluit Evangelista Joannes. Verbum est secunda Ss. Trinitatis Persona; Filius Dei, ipsa per se quidem, sed tamen ut eidem Verbo hypostatice unita Christi humanitas." Hardouin, therefore, says that the Person of the Word was united to the humanity of Christ, but that Jesus Christ then became the Son of God, when the humanity was hypostatically united to the Word; and, on this account, he says, he is called the Word, in the Gospel of St. John, up to the time of the Incarnation, but, after that, he is no longer called the Word, only the Only-begotten, and the Son of God: "Quamobrem in hoc Joannis Evangelio Verbum appellatur usque ad Incarnationem. Postquam autem caro factum est, non tam Verbum, sed Unigenitus, et Filius Dei est."

7.—Nothing can be more false than this, however, since all the Fathers, Councils, and even the Scriptures, as we shall presently see, clearly declare that the Word himself was the only-begotten Son of God, who became incarnate. Hear what St.

Paul says: "For let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus, who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant" (Phil. ii, 5, &c.) So that the Apostle says, that Christ, being equal to God, emptied himself, taking the form of a servant. The Divine Person, which was united with Christ, and was equal to God, could not be the only-begotten Son of God, according to Hardouin, but must be understood to be the Word himself, for, otherwise, it would not be the fact that He who was equal to God emptied himself, taking the form of a servant. St. John, besides, in his First Epistle (v, 20), says: "We know that the Son of God is come." He says, "is come;" it is not, therefore, true, that this Son of God became the Son, only when he came, for we see he was the Son of God before he came. The Council of Chalcedon (*Act.* v) says, speaking of Jesus Christ: "Ante sæcula quidem de Patre genitum secundum Deitatem, et in novissimis autem diebus propter nos et propter nostram salutem ex Maria Virgine Dei Genitrice secundum humanitatem.....non in duas personas partitum, sed unum eundemque Filium, et unigenitum Deum Verbum." Thus we see it there declared, that Jesus Christ, according to the Divinity, was generated by the Father, before all ages, and afterwards became incarnate in the fulness of time, and that he is one and the same, the Son of God and of the Word. In the Third Canon of the Fifth General Council it is declared: "Si quis dixerit unam naturam Dei Verbi incarnatam dicens, non sic ea excipit, sicut Patres docuerunt, quod ex Divina natura et humana, unione secundum subsistentiam facta, unus Christus effectus.....talis anathema sit." We see here there is no doubt expressed that the Word was incarnate, and became Christ, but it was prohibited to say absolutely that the Incarnate Nature of the Word was one. We say, in the Symbol at Mass, that we believe in one God, Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, born of the Father, before all ages. Jesus Christ is not, therefore, the Son of God, merely because he was made the Son in time, or because his humanity was united to the Word, as Hardouin says, but because his humanity was assumed by the Word, who was already the Son of God, born of the Father before all ages.

8.—All the Fathers teach that the Son of God who was made man is the very Person of the Word. St. Iræneus (3) says: "Unus et idem, et ipse Deus Christus Verbum est Dei." St. Athanasius (4) reproves those who say: "Alium Christum, alium rursum esse Dei Verbum, quod ante Mariam, et sæcula erat Filius Patris." St. Cyril says (5): "Licet (Nestorius) duas naturas esse dicat carnis et Verbi Dei, differentiam significans..... attamen unionem non confitetur; nos enim illas adunantes unum Christum; unum eundem Filium dicimus." St. John Chrysostom (6), reproving Nestorius for his blasphemy, in teaching that in Jesus Christ there were two Sons, says: "Non alterum et alterum, absit, sed unum et eundem Dom. Jesum Deum Verbum carne nostra amictum," &c. St. Basil writes (7): "Verbum hoc quod erat in principio, nec humanum erat, nec Angelorum, sed ipse Unigenitus qui dicitur Verbum; quia impassibiliter natus, et Generantis imago est." St. Gregory Thaumaturgus (8) says: "Unus est Deus Pater Verbi viventis.....perfectus perfecti Genitor, Pater Filii unigeniti." St. Augustin says (9): "Et Verbum Dei, forma quædam non formata, sed forma omnium formarum existens in omnibus. Quærunt vero, quomodo nasci potuerit Filius coævus Patri: nonne si ignis æternus esset, coævus esset splendor?" And in another passage he says (10): "Christus Jesus Dei Filius est, et Deus, et Homo; Deus ante omnia secula, Homo in nostro seculo. Deus, quia Dei Verbum: Homo autem, quia in unitatem personæ accessit Verbo anima rationalis, et caro." Eusebius of Cesarea says (11), not like Hardouin: "Non cum apparuit, tunc et Filius: non cum nobiscum, tunc et apud Deum: sed quemadmodum in principio erat Verbum, in principio erat.....in principio erat Verbum, de Filio dicit." We would imagine that Eusebius intended to answer Hardouin, by saying that the Word, not alone when he became incarnate and dwelt amongst us, was then the Son of God, and with God, but as in the beginning he was the Word, so, in like manner, he was the Son;

(3) St. Iræneus, *l.* 17, adv. Hæres.
(4) St. Athan. Epist. ad Epictetum.
(5) St. Cyrill. in Commonitor. ad Eulogium.
(6) St. Chrisost. Hom. 3, ad *c.* 1, Ep. ad Cæsar.
(7) St. Basil. Hom. in Princ. Johann.
(8) St. Greg. Thaumat. in Vita St. Greg. Nyss.
(9) St. August. Serm. 38, de Verb. Dom.
(10) St. August. in Euchirid, *c.* 35.
(11) Euseb. Ces. *l.* 1, de Fide.

and hence, when St. John says: "In the beginning was the Word," he meant to apply it to the Son. It is in this sense all the Fathers and schoolmen take it, likewise, as even Hardouin himself admits, and still he is not ashamed to sustain, that we should not understand that it is the Word, the Son of God, who became incarnate, though both Doctors and schoolmen thus understand it. Here are his words: "Non Filius stilo quidem Scripturarum sacrarum, quamquam in scriptis Patrum, et in Schola etiam Filius."

9.—This doctrine has been taken up, defended, and diffusely explained, by Berruyer; and to strengthen his position, even that Jesus Christ is not the Son of the Father, as the first Person of the Trinity, but of one God, as *subsisting in the three Divine Persons*, he lays down a general rule, by which he says all texts of the New Testament in which God is called the Father of Christ, and the Son is called the Son of God, should be understood of the Father subsisting in three Persons, and the Son of God subsisting in three Persons. Here are his words: "Omnes Novi Testamenti textus, in quibus aut Deus dicitur Pater Christi, aut Filius dicitur Filius Dei, vel inducitur Deus Christum sub nomine Filii, aut Christus Deum sub nomine Patris interpretans: vel aliquid de Deo ut Christi Patre, aut de Christo ut Dei Filio narratur, intelligendi sunt de Filio facto in tempore secundum carnem Deo uni et vero in tribus Personis subsistenti." And this rule, he says, is necessary for the proper and literal understanding of the New Testament: "Hæc notio prorsus necessaria est ad litteralum et germanam intelligentiam Librorum Novi Testamenti" (12). He previously said that all the writers of the Old Testament who prophesied the coming of the Messiah should be understood in the same sense: "Cum et idem omnino censendum est de omnibus Vet. Testamenti Scriptoribus, quoties de futuro Messia Jesu Christo prophetant" (13). Whenever God the Father, or the first Person, he says, is called the Father of Jesus Christ, it must be understood that he is not called so in reality, but by appropriation, on account of the omnipotence attributed to the Person of the Father: "Recte quidem, sed per appropriationem Deus Pater, sive Persona prima, dicitur Pater Jesu

(12) P. Berruyer, *t.* 8, *p.* 89 & 98. (13) Berruyer, *t.* 8, *p.* 8.

Christi, quia actio uniens, sicut et actio creans, actio est omnipotentiæ, cujus attributi actiones Patri, sive prima Personæ, per appropriationem tribuuntur" (14).

10.—This false notion of the Filiation of Jesus Christ Berruyer founds on that text of St. Paul (Rom. i, 3, 4): "Concerning his Son, who was made to him of the seed of David, according to the flesh, who was predestined the Son of God in power," &c. Now, these words, "his Son, who was made to him according to the flesh," he says, prove that Jesus Christ was the Son of God made in time according to the flesh. We reply, however, to this, that St. Paul, in this passage, speaks of Jesus Christ not as Son of God, but as Son of man; he does not say that Jesus Christ was made his Son according to the flesh, but "concerning his Son, who was made to him of the seed of David, according to the flesh;" that is, the Word, his Son, was made according to the flesh, or, in other words, was made flesh—was made man, as St. John says: "The Word was made flesh." We are not, then, to understand with Berruyer, that Christ, as man, was made the Son of God; for as we cannot say that Christ, being man, was made God, neither can we say that he was made the Son of God; but we are to understand that the Word being the only Son of God, was made man from the stock of David. When we hear it said, then, that the humanity of Jesus Christ was raised to the dignity of Son of God, that is, understood to have taken place by the communication of the idioms founded on the unity of Person; for the Word having united human nature to his Person, and as it is one Person which sustains the two Natures, Divine and human, the propriety of the Divine Nature is then justly affirmed of man, and the propriety of God, of the human nature he assumed. How, then, is this expression, "who was predestined the Son of God in power," to be taken? Berruyer endeavours to explain it by a most false supposition, which we will presently notice. It is, he says, to be understood of the new filiation which God made in the resurrection of Jesus Christ, for when our Lord died, as his soul was separated from his body, he ceased to be a living man, and was then no longer, he said, the Son of God; but when he rose again from the dead, God

(14) Berruyer, *t.* 8, *p.* 83.

again made him his Son, and it is of this new filiation St. Paul, he says, speaks in these words: "Who was predestinated the Son of God in power, according to the spirit of sanctification, by the resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ from the dead" (Rom i. 4). Commentators and Holy Fathers give different interpretations to this text, but the most generally received is that of St. Augustin, St. Anselm, Estius, and some others, who say that Christ was from all eternity destined to be united in time, according to the flesh, to the Son of God, by the operation of the Holy Ghost, who united this man to the Word, who afterwards wrought miracles, and raised him from the dead.

11.—To return to Berruyer. In his system he lays it down for a certainty, that Jesus Christ is the natural Son of one God, subsisting in three Persons. Is Christ, then, the Son of the Trinity? an opinion which shocked St. Fulgentius (15), who says that our Saviour, according to the flesh, might be called the work of the Trinity; but, according to his birth, both eternal and in time, is the Son of God the Father alone: "Quis unquam tantæ reperiri possit insaniæ, qui auderet Jesum Christum totius Trinitatis Filium prædicare?.....Jesus Christus secundum carnem quidem opus est totius Trinitatis; secundum vero utramque Nativitatem solius Dei Patris est Filius." But Berruyer's partizans may say that he does not teach that Jesus Christ is the Son of the Trinity; but granting that he allows two filiations—one eternal, the filiation of the Word, and the other in time, when Christ was made the Son of God, subsisting in three Persons—he must then, of necessity, admit that this Son made in time was the Son of the Trinity. He will not have Jesus Christ to be the Word, that is, the Son generated from the Father, the first Person of the Trinity, from all eternity. If he is not the Son of the Father, whose Son is he, if not the Son of the Trinity? Had he any Father at all? There is no use in wasting words on the matter, for every one knows that in substance it is just the same to say the Son of one God subsisting in three Persons, as to say the Son of the Trinity. This, however, is what never can be admitted; for if we said Christ was the Son of the three Persons, it would be the same, as we shall prove, as to say that

(15) St .Fulgent. Fragm. 32, *l.* 9.

he was a mere creature; but when we say he is the Son, we mean that he was produced from the substance of the Father, or that he was of the same substance as the Father, as St. Athanasius teaches (16): "Omnis filius ejusdem essentiæ est proprii parentis, alioquin impossibile est, ipsum verum esse filium." St. Augustin says that Christ cannot be called the Son of the Holy Ghost, though it was by the operation of the Holy Spirit the Incarnation took place. How, then, can he be the Son of the three Persons? St. Thomas (17) teaches that Christ cannot be called the Son of God, unless by the eternal generation, as he has been generated by the Father alone; but Berruyer wants us to believe that he is not the Son, generated by the Father, but made by one God, subsisting in three Persons.

12—To carry out this proposition, if he understands that Jesus Christ is the Son, consubstantial to the Father, who subsists in three Persons, he must admit four Persons in God, that is, three in which God subsists, and the fourth Jesus Christ, made the Son of the Most Holy Trinity; or, in other words, of God subsisting in three Persons. If, on the other hand, he considers the Father of Jesus Christ as one person alone, then he falls into Sabellianism, recognizing in God not three distinct Persons, but one alone, under three different names. He is accused of Arianism by others, and, in my opinion, his error leads to Nestorianism. He lays down as a principle, that there are two generations in God—one eternal, the other in time—one of necessity, *ad intra*—the other voluntary, *ad extra*. In all this he is quite correct; but then, speaking of the generation *in time*, he says that Jesus Christ was not the natural Son of God the Father, as the first Person of the Trinity, but the Son of God, as subsisting in three Persons.

13.—Admitting this, then, to be the case, it follows that Jesus Christ had two Fathers, and that in Jesus Christ there are two Sons—one the Son of God, as the Father, the first Person of the Trinity, who generated him from all eternity—the other, the Son made in time by God, but by God subsisting in three Persons, who, uniting the humanity of Jesus Christ (or, as Berruyer says, uniting that man, *hominem illum*,) to the Divine Word,

(16) St. Athan. Epist. 2, ad Serapion. (17) St. Thom. 3, *p. qu.* 32. *art.* 3.

made him his natural Son. If we admit this, however, then we must say that Jesus Christ is not true God, but only a creature, and that for two reasons, first—because Faith teaches us that there are only two internal operations (*ad intra*) in God, the generation of the Word, and the spiration of the Holy Ghost; every other operation in God is external (*ad extra*), and external operations produce only creatures, and not a Divine Person. The second reason is—because if Jesus Christ were the natural Son of God, subsisting in three Persons, he would be the Son of the Trinity, as we have already stated, and that would lead us to admit two grievous absurdities—first, the Trinity, that is, the three Divine Persons would produce a Son of God; but as we have already shown, the Trinity, with the exception of the production of the Word and the Holy Ghost, *ad intra*, only produces creatures, and not Sons of God. The second absurdity is, that if Jesus Christ was made the natural Son of God by the Trinity, he would generate or produce himself (unless we exclude the Son from the Trinity altogether), and this would be a most irrational error, such as Tertullian, charged Praxeas with: "Ipse se Filium sibi fecit" (18). Therefore, we see, according to Berruyer's system, that Jesus Christ, for all these reasons, would not be true God, but a mere creature, and the Blessed Virgin would be, as Nestorius asserted, only the Mother of Christ, and not, as the Council decided, and Faith teaches, the Mother of God; for Jesus Christ is true God, seeing that his humanity had only the Person of the Word alone to terminate it, for it was the Word alone which sustained the two natures, human and Divine.

14.—Berruyer's friend, however, says that he does not admit the existence of two natural Sons—one from eternity, the other in time. But then, I say, if he does not admit it, where is the use of torturing his mind, by trying to make out this second filiation of Jesus Christ, made in time the natural Son of God, subsisting in three Persons. He ought to say, as the Church teaches, and all Catholics believe, that it is the same Word who was from all eternity the natural Son of God, generated from the substance of the Father, who assumed human nature, and

(18) Tertull. adv. Praxeam, *n.* 50.

hus redeemed mankind. But Berruyer wished to enlighten the Church with the knowledge of this new natural Son of God, about whom we knew nothing before, telling us that this Son was made in time, not from the Father, but by all the three Divine Persons, because he was united to, or, as he expressed it, had the honor of the *Consortium* of the Word, who was the Son of God from all eternity. We knew nothing of all this till Berruyer and his master, Hardouin, came to enlighten us.

15.—Berruyer, however, was grievously astray in asserting that Jesus Christ was the natural Son of one God, subsisting in three Persons. In this he has all Theologians, Catechisms, Fathers, Councils, and Scripture, opposed to him. We do not deny that the Incarnation of the Word was the work of the three Divine Persons; but neither can it be denied that the Person who became incarnate was the only Son, the second Person of the Trinity, who was, without doubt, the Word himself, generated from all eternity by the Father, who, assuming human nature, and uniting it to himself in unity of Person, wished by this means to redeem the human race. Hear what the Catechisms and the Symbols of the Church say; they teach that Jesus Christ is not the Son of God made in time by the Trinity, as Berruyer imagines, but the eternal Word, born of the Father, the principal and first Person of the Most Holy Trinity. This is what the Roman Catechism teaches: "Filium Dei esse (Jesum) et verum Deum, sicut Pater est, qui eum ab æterno genuit" (19). And again (*N.* 9), Berruyer's opinion is directly impugned: "Et quamquam duplicem ejus nativitatem agnoscamus, unum tamen Filium esse credimus; una enim Persona est, in quam Divina et humana natura convenit." The Athanasian Creed says that the Son is from the Father alone, not made nor created, but begotten; and speaking of Jesus Christ, it says that he is God, of the substance of the Father, begotten before all ages; and man, of the substance of his mother, born in time, who, though he is God and man, still is not two, but one Christ—one, not by the conversion of the Divinity into flesh, but by the assumption of the humanity into God. As Jesus Christ, therefore, received his humanity from

(19) Catech. Rom. *c.* 3. *art.* 2, *n.* 11.

the substance of his mother alone, so he had his Divinity from the substance of his Father alone.

16.—In the Apostles' Creed we say: "I believe in God, the Father Almighty.....and in Jesus Christ, his only Son.....born of the Virgin Mary, suffered," &c. Remark, Jesus Christ, his Son, of the Father, the first Person, who is first named, not of the three Persons; and his only Son, that is one Son, not two. In the Symbol of the Council of Florence, which is said at Mass, and which comprises all the other Symbols previously promulgated by the other General Councils, we perceive several remarkable expressions. It says: "I believe in one God, the Father Almighty.....and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God, and born of the Father before all ages (see, then, this only begotten Son is the same who was born of the Father before all ages), consubstantial to the Father, by whom all things were made, who for us men, and for our salvation, came down from heaven, and became incarnate," &c. The Son of God, then, who wrought the redemption of mankind, is not he whom Berruyer supposes made in time on this earth, but the eternal Son of God, by whom all things were made, who came down from heaven, and was born and suffered for our salvation. Berruyer, then, is totally wrong in recognizing two natural Sons of God, one born in time of God, subsisting in three Persons, and the other generated by God from all eternity.

17.—But, says Berruyer, then Jesus Christ, inasmuch as he was made a man in time, is not the real, natural Son of God, but merely his adopted Son, as Felix and Elipandus taught, and for which they were condemned? But this we deny, and we hold for certain that Jesus Christ, even as man is the true Son of God (See *Refutation* vii, *n.* 18), but that does not prove that there are two natural Sons of God, one eternal and the other made in time, because, as we have proved in this work, as quoted above, Jesus Christ, even as man, is called the natural Son of God, inasmuch as God the Father continually generates the Word from all eternity, as David writes: "The Lord hath said to me, Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee" (Psalm ii, 7). Hence it is that as the Son, previous to the Incarnation, was generated from all eternity, without flesh, so from the time he assumed humanity he was generated by the Father, and will

for ever be generated, hypostatically united to his humanity. But it is necessary to understand that this man, the natural Son of God created in time, is the very Person of the Son, generated from all eternity, that is the Word, who assumed the humanity of Jesus Christ, and united it to itself. It cannot be said, then, that there are two natural Sons of God, one, man, made in time, the other, God, produced from all eternity, for there is only one natural Son of God, that is the Word, who, uniting human nature to himself in time is both God and man, and is, as the Athanasian Creed declares, one Christ: "For as the rational soul and flesh is one man, so God and man is one Christ. And as every man, though consisting of soul and body, is still only one man, one person, so in Jesus Christ, though there is the Word and the humanity, there is but one Person and natural Son of God."

18.—Berruyer's opinion also is opposed to the First Chapter of the Gospel of St. John, for there we read: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God;" and then it is said that it was this same Word which was made flesh: "And the Word was made flesh." Being made flesh does not mean that the Word was united to the human person of Jesus Christ, already existing, but it shows that the Word assumed humanity in the very instant in which it was created, so that from that very instant the soul of Jesus Christ and his human flesh became his own proper soul and his own proper flesh, sustained and governed by one sole Divine Person alone, which is the Word, which terminates and sustains the two Natures, Divine and human, and it is thus the Word was made man. Just pause for a moment! St. John affirms that the Word, the Son, generated from the Father from all eternity, is made man, and Berruyer says that this man is not the Word, the Son of the eternal God, but another Son of God, made in time by all the three Divine Persons. When, however, the Evangelist has said: "The Word was made flesh," if you say and understand that the Word is not made flesh, are you not doing just what the Sacramentarians did, explaining the Eucharistic words, "This is my body," that the body of Jesus Christ was not his body, but only the figure, sign, or virtue of his body? This is what the Council of Trent reprobates so much in the heretics, dis-

torting the words of Scripture to their own meaning. To return, however, to the Gospel of St. John. The Evangelist says, he dwelt among us. It was the eternal Word, then, which was made man, and worked out man's redemption, and, therefore, the Gospel again says: "The Word was made flesh.....and we saw his glory, as it were the glory of the only-begotten of the Father." This Word, then, who was made man in time, is the only-begotten, and, consequently, the only natural Son of God, generated by the Father from all eternity. St. John (I. Epis. iv, 9), again repeats it: "By this has the charity of God appeared towards us, because God hath sent his only-begotten Son into the world, that we may live by him." In this text we must remark that the Apostle uses the word "hath sent." Berruyer then asserts what is false, in saying that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, made in time, for St. John says that he existed before he "was sent," for in fact it was the eternal Son of the Father that was sent by God, who came down from heaven, and brought salvation to the world. We should also recollect that St. Thomas says (20), that speaking of God, whenever one Person is said to be sent by another, he is said to be sent, inasmuch as he proceeds from the other, and therefore the Son is said to be sent by the Father to take human flesh, inasmuch as he proceeds from the Person of the Father alone. Christ himself declared this in the resurrection of Lazarus, for though he could have raised him himself, still he prayed to his Father that they might know he was his true Son, "That they may believe that thou hast sent me" (John, xi, 42), and hence St. Hilary says (21): "Non prece eguit, pro nobis oravit, ne Filius ignoraretur."

19.—Along with all this we have the Tradition of the Fathers generally opposed to Berruyer's system. St. Gregory of Nazianzen (22) says: "Id quod non erat assumpsit, non duo factus, sed unum ex duobus fieri subsistens; Deus enim ambo sunt, id quod assumpsit, et quod est assumptum, naturæ duæ in unum concurrentes, non duo Filii." St. John Chrysostom (23) writes: "Unum Filium unigenitum, non dividens dum in Filiorum dualitatem, portantem tamen in semetipso indivisarum duarum naturarum

(20) St. Thomas, *p.* 1, *q.* 4, *ar.* 1.
(21) St. Hilar. *l.* 10, de Trin.
(22) St. Greg. Nazian. Orat. 31.
(23) St. John Chrysos. Ep. ad Cæsar. et Hom. 3, ad cap. 1.

inconvertibiliter proprietates;" and again, "Etsi enim duplex natura, verumtamen indivisibilis unio in una filiationis confitenda Persona, et una subsistentia." St. Jerom says (24): "Anima et caro Christi cum Verbo Dei una Persona est, unus Christus" St. Dionisius of Alexandria wrote a Synodical Epistle to refute Paul of Samosata, who taught a doctrine like Berruyer; "Duas esse Personas unius, et solius Christi; et duos Filios, unum natura Filium Dei, qui fuit ante sæcula, et unum homonyma Christum filium David." St. Augustin says (25): "Christus Jesus Dei Filius est Deus et Homo: Deus quia Dei Verbum: Homo autem, quia in unitatem Personæ necessit Verbo Anima rationalis et caro." I omit the quotations from many other Fathers, but those who are curious in the matter will find them in the Clypeum of Gonet and in the writings of Petavius, Gotti, and others.

20.—Another reflection occurs to my mind. Besides the other errors published by Berruyer, and which follow from his opinions, which we will immediately refute, if the reader goes back to *N.* 9, he will perceive that the faith of Baptism, as taught by all Christians and Councils is jeopardized. According to his system, all passages in the New Testament in which God is called the Father of Christ, or the Son is called the Son of God, or where anything is mentioned about God, as Father of Christ, the Son of God, must be understood to apply to the Son of God made in time, according to the flesh, and made by that God, subsisting in three Persons. On the other hand, it is certain that Baptism is administered in the Church in the name of the three Persons, expressly and individually named, as Jesus Christ commanded his Apostle to do: "Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost" (Matt. xxviii, 19). But if the general rule laid down by Berruyer, as we have explained it, should be observed, then the Baptism administered in the Church would be no longer Baptism in the sense we take it, because the Father who is named would not be the first Person of the Trinity, as is generally understood, but the Father Berruyer imagined, a Father subsisting in three Divine Persons—in a word, the whole Trinity. The Son would not be the Word, generated by the

(24) St. Hieron. Tract 49, in Jo. (55) St. August. in Enchirid. *cap.* 33.

Father, the Principle of the Trinity, from all eternity, but the Son, made in time by all the three Persons, who, being an external work of God, *ad extra*, would be a mere creature, as we have seen already. The Holy Ghost would not be the third Person, such as we believe him, that is, proceeding from the Father, the first Person of the Trinity, and from the Son, the second Person, that is, the Word, generated from all eternity by the Father. Finally, according to Berruyer, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost would not be what they are in reality, and what the whole Church believes them to be, the real Father, the real Son, and the real Holy Ghost, in opposition to what that great theologian, St. Gregory of Nazianzan teaches: "Quis Catholicorum ignorat Patrem vere esse Patrem, Filium vere esse Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum, vere esse Spiritum Sanctum, sicut ipse Dominus ad Apostolos dicit: Euntes docete, &c. Hæc est perfecta Trinitas," &c. (26). Read, however, further on the Refutation of the third error, and you will find this fiction more diffusely and clearly refuted. We now pass on to the other errors of this writer, which flow from this first one.

§ II.

BERRUYER SAYS THAT JESUS CHRIST, DURING THE THREE DAYS HE WAS IN THE SEPULCHRE, CEASED TO BE A LIVING MAN, AND, CONSEQUENTLY, WAS NO LONGER THE SON OF GOD. AND WHEN GOD AGAIN RIASED HIM FROM THE DEAD, HE ONCE MORE GENERATED HIM, AND AGAIN MADE HIM THE SON OF GOD.

21.—One must have a great deal of patience to wade through all these extravagant falsehoods. Christ, he says, during the three days he was in the sepulchre, ceased to be the natural Son of God: "Factum est morte Christi, ut homo Christus Jesus, cum jam non esset homo vivens, atque adeo pro triduo quo corpus ab Anima separatum jacuit in sepulchro, fieret Christus incapax illius appellationis, Filius Dei (1); and he repeats the same thing in another part of his work, in different words: "Actione Dei

(26) St. Greg. Nazian. in Orat. de Fide, post. init.

(1) Berruyer, *t.* 8, *p.* 63.

unius, Filium suum Jesum suscitantis, factum est, ut Jesus qui desierat esse homo vivens, et consequenter Filius Dei, iterum viveret deinceps non moriturus." This error springs from that false supposition we have already examined, for supposing that Jesus Christ was the Son of God subsisting in three Persons, that is the Son of the Trinity by an operation *ad extra*, he was then a mere man, and as by death he ceased to be a living man, he also ceased to be the Son of God subsisting in three Persons; because if Jesus Christ were the Son of God, as first Person of the Trinity, then in him was the Word, which, being hypostatically united to his soul and body, could never be separated from him, even when his soul was by death separated from his body.

22.—Supposing, then, that Jesus Christ, dying, ceased to be the Son of God, Berruyer must admit that in those three days in which our Lord's body was separated from his soul, the Divinity was separated from his body and soul. Let us narrow the proposition. Christ, he says, was made the Son of God, not because the Word assumed his humanity, but because the Word was united to his humanity, and hence, he says, as in the sepulchre he ceased to be a living man, his soul being separated from his body, he was no longer the Son of God, and, therefore, the Word ceased to be united with his humanity. Nothing, however, can be more false than this, for the Word assumed and hypostatically and inseparably united to himself in unity of Person the soul and body of Jesus Christ, and hence when our Lord died, and his most holy body was laid in the tomb, the Divinity of the Word could not be separated either from the body or the soul. This truth has been taught by St. Athanasius (2): "Cum Deitas neque Corpus in sepulchro desereret, neque ab Anima in inferno separaretur." St. Gregory of Nyssa writes (3): "Deus qui totum hominem per suam cum illo conjunctionem in naturam Divinam mutaverat, mortis sempore a neutra illius, quam semel assumpserat, parte recessit;" and St. Augustin says (4): "Cum credimus Dei Filium, qui sepultus est, profecto Filium Dei dicimus et Carnem, quæ sola sepulta est."

(2) St. Athanasius, contra Apollinar. *l.* 1, *n.* 15.

(3) St. Greg. Nyss. Orat. 1 in Christ. Resur.

(4) St. Aug. Tract 78, in Joan. *n.* 2.

23.—St. John of Damascus tells us the reason the soul of Christ had not a different subsistence from his body, as it was the one Person alone which sustained both: "Neque enim unquam aut Anima, aut Corpus peculiarem atque a Verbi subsistentia diversam subsistentiam habuit" (5). On that account, he says, as it was one Person which sustained the soul and body of Christ, although the soul was separated from the body, still the Person of the Word could not be separated from them: "Corpus, et Anima simul ab initio in Verbi Persona existentiam habuerant, ac licet in morte divulsa fuerint, utrumque tamen eorum unam Verbi Personam, qua subsisteret, semper habuit." As, therefore, when Jesus descended into hell, the Word descended, likewise, with his soul, so, while his body was in the sepulchre, the Word was present, likewise; and, therefore, the body of Christ was free from corruption, as David foretold: "Nor wilt thou give thy holy one to see corruption" (Psalm, xv, 10). And St. Peter, as we read in the Acts (ii, 27), shows that this text was applied to our Lord lying in his tomb. It is true, St. Hilary (6) says, that, when Christ died, the Divinity left his body; but St. Ambrose (7) explains this, and says, that all the Holy Doctor meant to say was, that, in the Passion, the Divinity abandoned the humanity of Christ to that great desolation, which caused him to cry out: "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me" (Matt. xxvii, 46). In his death, therefore, the Word abandoned his body, inasmuch as the Word did not preserve his life, but never ceased to be hypostatically united with him. Christ never, then, could cease to be the Son of God in the sepulchre, as Berruyer teaches; for it is one of the axioms of all Catholic schools (8): "Quod semel Verbum assumpsit, nunquam misit"—The Word, having once assumed human nature, never gives it up again. But when Berruyer admits, then, that the Word was united in the beginning in unity of Person with the body and soul of Jesus Christ, how can he afterwards say that, when the soul was separated from the body, the Word was no longer united with the body? This is a doctrine which surely neither he nor any one else can understand.

(5) St. Jo. Damasc. *l.* 3, de Fide, *c.* 27.
(6) St. Hilar. *c.* 33, in Matth.
(7) St. Ambros. *l.* 10, in Luc. *c.* 13.
(8) Cont. Tournely, de Incarn. *t.* 4, *part* 2, *pag.* 487.

24.—When Berruyer says that Jesus Christ, at his death, ceased to be the natural Son of God, because he was no longer a living man, he must, consequently, hold that the humanity, previous to his death, was not sustained by the Person of the Word, but by its own proper human subsistence, and was a Person distinct from the Person of the Word. But, then, how can he escape being considered a Nestorian, admitting two distinct Persons in Jesus Christ. Both Nestorius and Berruyer are expressly condemned by the Symbol promulgated in the Council of Constantinople, which says that we are bound to believe in one God, the Father Almighty, and in one only-begotten Son of God, born of the Father before all ages, and consubstantial to the Father, who, for our salvation, came down from heaven, and became incarnate of the Virgin Mary, suffered, was buried, and rose again the third day. It is, therefore, the only-begotten Son of God the Father, generated by the Father from all eternity, and who came down from heaven, that was made man, died, and was buried. But, how could God die and be buried? you will say. By assuming human flesh, as the Council teaches. As another General Council, the Fourth of Lateran, says (9), as God could not die nor suffer, by becoming man he became mortal and passible: "Qui cum secundum Divinitatem sit immortalis et impassibilis, idem ipse secundum humanitatem factus est mortalis et passibilis."

25.—As one error is always the parent of another, so Berruyer having said that Jesus Christ in the sepulchre ceased to be the natural son of God, said, likewise, that when God raised Christ-man again from the dead, he again generated him, and made him Man-God, because, by raising him again, he caused him to be his Son, who, dying, ceased to be his Son. We have already (*N.* 18) alluded to this falsehood. He says: "Actione Dei unius, Filium suum Jesum suscitantis, factum est, ut Jesus, qui desierat esse homo vivens, et consequenter Filius Dei, iterum viveret deinceps non moriturus." He says the same thing, in other words, in another place: "Deus Christum hominem resuscitans, hominem Deum iterato generat, dum facit resuscitando, ut Filius sit, qui moriendo Filius esse desierat" (10).

(9) Conc. Lat. IV. in cap. Firmiter, de Summ. Trin. &c.

(10) Berruyer, *t.* 8, *p.* 66.

We should, indeed, be rejoiced to hear of this new dogma, never before heard of, that the Son of God twice became incarnate, and was made man—first, when he was conceived in the holy womb of the Virgin, and, again, when he arose from the tomb. We should, indeed, feel obliged to Berruyer, for enlightening us on a point never before heard of in the Church. Another consequence of this doctrine is, that the Blessed Virgin must have been twice made the Mother of God; for, as Jesus ceased to be the Son of God while in the tomb, so she ceased also to be the Mother of God at the same time, and then, after his resurrection, her Divine Maternity was again restored to her. In the next paragraph we will examine even a more brainless error than this. I use the expression, "brainless," for I think the man's head was more in fault than his conscience. A writer, who attacked Berruyer's errors, said that he fell into all these extravagancies, because he would not follow the Tradition of the Fathers, and the method they employed in the interpretation of the Scriptures, and the announcement of the unwritten Word of God, preserved in the Works of these Doctors and Pastors. It is on this account, as the Prelate, the Author of "The Essay," remarks, that Berruyer, in his entire work, does not cite one authority either from Fathers or Theologians, although the Council of Trent (*Sess.* iv, *Dec. de Scrip. S.*) expressly prohibits the interpretation of the Sacred Writings, in a sense contrary to the generality of the Fathers. We now pass on to the examination of the next error—a most pernicious and enormous one.

§ III.

BERRUYER SAYS THAT IT WAS THE HUMANITY ALONE OF CHRIST THAT OBEYED, PRAYED, AND SUFFERED, AND THAT HIS OBLATIONS, PRAYERS, AND MEDITATIONS, WERE NOT OPERATIONS PROCEEDING FROM THE WORD, AS A PHYSICAL AND EFFICIENT PRINCIPLE, BUT THAT, IN THIS SENSE, THEY WERE ACTIONS MERELY OF HIS HUMANITY.

26.—Berruyer says that the operations of Jesus Christ were not produced by the Word, but merely by his humanity, and

that the hypostatic union in no wise tended to render the human nature of Christ a complete principle of the actions physically and supernaturally performed by him. Here are his words: "Non sunt operationes a Verbo elicitæ.....sunt operationes totius humanitatis" (1). He had already written (2): "Ad complementum autem naturæ Christi humanæ, in ratione principii agentis, et actiones suas physice sive supernaturaliter producentis, unio hypostatica nihil omnino contulit." In another passage he says that all the propositions regarding Christ, in the Scriptures, and especially in the New Testament, are directly and primarily verified in the Man-God, or, in other words, in the Humanity of Christ, united to the Divinity, and completed by the Word in the unity of Person, and this, he says, is the natural interpretation of Scripture: "Dico insuper, omnes et singulas ejusdam propositiones, quæ sunt de Christo Jesu in Scripturis sanctis, præsertim Novi Testamenti, semper et ubique verificari directe et primo in homine Deo, sive in humanitate Christi, Divinitati unita et Verbo, completa in unitate personæ..... Atque hæc est simplex obvia, et naturalis Scripturas interpretandi methodus," &c. (3).

27.—In fine, he deduces from this, that it was the Humanity alone of Christ that obeyed, and prayed, and suffered—that alone was endowed with all the gifts necessary for operating freely and meritoriously, by the Divine natural and supernatural cohesion (*concursus*): "Humanitas sola obedivit Patri, sola oravit, sola passa est, sola ornata fuit donis et dotibus omnibus necessariis ad agendum libere et meritorie (4). Jesu Christi oblatio, oratio, et mediatio non sunt operationes a Verbo elicitæ tamquam a principio physico et efficiente, sed in eo sensu sunt operationes solius humanitatis Christi in agendo, et merendo per concursum Dei naturalem et supernaturalem completæ" (5). By this Berruyer deprives God of the infinite honour he received from Jesus Christ, who, being God, equal to the Father, became a servant, and sacrificed himself. He also deprives the merits of Jesus Christ of their infinite value, as they were the operations of his humanity alone, according to him, and not performed by the

(1) Berruyer, *t.* 8, *p.* 53.
(2) Idem, *p.* 22.
(3) Idem, *p.* 18, 19.
(4) Berruyer, *t.* 8, *p.* 20, 21, & 23.
(5) Idem, *p.* 53.

Person of the Word, and, consequently, he destroys that hope which we have in those infinite merits. Besides, he does away with the strongest motive we have to love our Redeemer, which is the consideration that he, being God, and it being impossible that he could suffer as God, took human flesh, that he might die and suffer for us, and thus satisfy the Divine justice for our faults, and obtain for us Grace and life everlasting. But what is more important even, as the Roman Censor says, if it was the Humanity of Christ alone which obeyed, prayed, and suffered, and if the oblations, prayers, and mediation of Christ were not the operations of the Word, but of his Humanity alone, it follows that the Humanity of Christ had subsistence of its own, and, consequently, the human Person of Christ was distinct from the Word, and that would make two Persons.

28.—Berruyer concludes the passage last quoted, "Humanitas sola obedivit," &c., by these words: "Ille (inquam) homo, qui hæc omnia egit, et passus est libere et sancte, et cujus humanitas in Verbo subsistebat, objectum est in recto immediatum omnium, quæ de Christo sunt, narrationum" (6) It was the man, then, in Christ, and not the Word, that operated: "Ille homo qui hæc omnia egit." Nor is that cleared up by what he says immediately after: "Cujus humanitas in Verbo subsistebat;" for he never gives up his system, but constantly repeats it in his Dissertations, and clothes it in so many curious and involved expressions, that it would be sufficient to turn a person's brain to study it. His system, as we have previously explained it, is, that Christ is not the Eternal Word, the Son, born of God the Father, but the Son, made in time by one God, subsisting in three Persons, who made him his Son by uniting him to the Divine Person; so that, rigorously speaking, he says he was formally constituted the Son of God, merely by that action which united him with the Divine Person: "Rigorose loquendo, per ipsam formaliter actionem unientem cum Persona Divina." He, therefore, says that God, by the action of uniting the Humanity of Christ with the Word, formed the second filiation, and caused Christ-Man to become the Son of God, so that, according to his opinion, the union of the Word with the Humanity of Christ was, as it were,

(6) Berruyer, *t.* 8, *p.* 53 & 95.

a means to make Christ become the Son of God. All this, however, is false, for when we speak of Jesus Christ, we cannot say that that man, on account of being united with a Divine Person, was made by the Trinity the Son of God in time; but we are bound to profess that God, the Eternal Word, is the Son, born of the Father from all eternity, born of the substance of the Father, as the Athanasian Creed says, "God, of the substance of the Father, born before all ages," for, otherwise, he never could be called the natural Son of God. He it is who, uniting to himself Humanity in unity of Person, has always sustained it, and he it is who performed all operations, who, notwithstanding that he was equal to God, emptied himself, and humbled himself to die on a cross in that flesh which he assumed.

29.—Berruyer's whole error consists in supposing the humanity of Christ to be a subject subsisting in itself, to which the Word was subsequently united. Faith and reason, however, would both teach him that the Humanity of Christ was accessary to the Word which assumed it, as St. Augustin (7) explains: "Homo autem, quia in unitatem personæ accessit Verbo Anima et Caro." Berruyer, however, on the contrary, says that the Divinity of the Word was accessary to the Humanity; but he should have known, as Councils and Fathers teach, that the Humanity of Jesus Christ did not exist until the Word came to take flesh. The Sixth Council (*Act.* 11) reproved Paul of Samosata, for teaching, with Nestorius, that the humanity of Christ existed previous to the Incarnation. Hence, the Council declared: "Simul enim caro, simul Dei Verbi caro fuit; simul animata rationabiliter, simul Dei Verbi caro animata rationabiliter." St. Cyril (8), in his Epistle to Nestorius, which was approved of by the Council of Ephesus, writes: "Non enim primum vulgaris quispiam homo ex Virgine ortus est, in quem Dei Verbum deinde Se dimiserit; sed in ipso Utero carni unitum secundum carnem progenitum dicitur, utpote suæ carnis generationem sibi ut propriam vindicans." St. Leo the Great (9), reprobating the doctrine of Eutyches, that Jesus Christ alone, previous to the Incarnation, was in two natures, says: "Sed hoc Catholicæ mentes auresque non tolerant.....natura quippe

(7) St. Augus. in Euchirid. *c.* 35.
(8) St. Cyrill. Ep. 2, ad Nestor.
(9) St. Leo, Ep. ad Julian.

nostra non sic assumpta est, ut prius creata postea sumeretur, sed ut ipsa assumptione crearetur." St. Augustin, speaking of the glorious union of the Humanity of Christ with the Divinity, says: "Ex quo esse Homo cœpit, non aliud cœpit esse Homo, quam Dei Filius" (10). And St. John of Damascus (11) says: "Non quemadmodum quidam falso prædicant, mens ante carnem ex Virgine assumptam Deo Verbo copulata est, et tum Christi nomen accepit."

30.—Berruyer, however, does not agree with Councils or Fathers, for all the passages of Scripture, he says, which speak of Jesus Christ are directly verified in his humanity united to the Divinity: "Dico insupere omnes propositiones quæ sunt de Christo in Scripturis.....verificari directe et primo in homine Deo, sive in humanitate Christi Divinitati unita," &c. (12). So that the primary object of all that is said regarding Christ, is according to him, Man-God, and not God-Man: "Homo-Deus, non similiter Deus-homo objectum primarium," &c.; and again, as we have already seen, that Jesus Christ was formally constituted the natural Son of God, solely by that act which united him to the Word: "Per ipsam formaliter actionem unientem Jesus Christus constituitur tantum Filius Dei naturalis." This, however, is totally false, for Jesus Christ is the natural Son of God, not on account of the act which united him to the Word, but because the Word, who is the natural Son of God, as generated by the Father from all eternity, assumed the humanity of Christ, and united it to himself in the unity of Person. Berruyer then imagines that the humanity was the primary object *in recto*, and self-subsisting, to when the Word was united, and that by this union Christ-Man was subsequently made the Son of God in time. Hence, he says, that the humanity alone obeyed, prayed, and suffered: and it was that man (Christ), he says, who did all those things: "Ille (inquam) homo qui hæc omnia egit.....objectum est in recto immediatum eorum, quæ de Christo sunt," &c. In this, however, he is wrong. Faith tells us that we ought to regard as the primary object, the Eternal Word, who assumed the humanity of Christ, and united it to himself hypostatically in one Person, and thus the soul and body of Jesus Christ became

(10) St. Aug. in Euchir. *c.* 36.
(11) St. Jo. Dam. *l.* 4 Fide orth. *c.*6.
(12) Berruyer, *t.* 8, *p.* 18.

the proper soul and body of the Word. When the Word, St. Cyril says, assumed a human body, that body was no longer strange to the Word, but was made his own: "Non est alienum a Verbo corpus suum" (13). This is what is meant by the words of the Creed; "He came down from heaven, and was incarnate, and was made man." Hence we, following the Creed, say God was made man, and not, as Berruyer says, man was made God; for this mode of expression would lead us to think that man, already subsisting, was united with God, and we should then, as Nestorius did, suppose two Persons in Christ; but faith teaches us that God was made man by taking human flesh, and thus there is but one Person in Christ, who is both God and man. Neither is it lawful to say (as St. Thomas instructs us) (14), with Nestorius, that Christ was assumed by God as an instrument to work out man's salvation, since, as St. Cyril, quoted by St. Thomas, teaches, the Scripture will have us to believe that Jesus Christ is not an instrument of God, but God in reality, made man: "Christum non tanquam instrumenti officio assumptum dicit Scriptura, sed tanquam Deum vere humanatum."

31.—We are bound to believe that there are in Christ two distinct Natures, each of which has its own will and its own proper operations, in opposition to the Monothelites, who held that there was but one will and one operation in Christ. But, on the other hand, it is certain that the operations of the human nature of Jesus Christ were not mere human operations, but, in the language of the schools, *Theandric*, that is, Divine-human, and chiefly Divine, for although, in every operation of Christ, human nature concurred, still all was subordinate to the Person of the Word, which was the chief and director of all the operations of the humanity. The Word, says Bossuet, presides in all; the Word governs all; and the Man, subject to the direction of the Word, has no other movements but Divine ones; whatever he wishes and does is guided by the Word (15). St. Augustin says that as in us the soul governs the body, so in Jesus Christ the Word governed his humanity: "Quid est homo," says the saint, "anima habens corpus. Quid est Christus? Verbum Dei habens hominem." St. Thomas says: "Ubicunque sunt plura

(13) St. Cyr. Epist. ad Nestor.
(14) St. Thom. 3 *p. qu.* 2, *ar.* 6, *ad* 4.
(15) Bossuet, Diss. Histor. *p.* 2.

agentia ordinata, inferius movetur a superiori.....Sicut autem in homine puro corpus movetur ab animo.....ita in Domino Jesu Christo humana natura movebatur et regebatur a Divina" (16). All, then, that Berruyer states on the subject is totally false: "Humanitas sola obedivit Patri, sola passa est, Jesu Christi oblatio, oratio, et mediatio non sunt operationes a Verbo elicitæ tanquam a principio physico et efficiente. Ad complementum naturæ Christi humanæ in ratione principii producentis, et actiones suas sive physice sive supernaturaliter agentis, nihil omnino contulit unio hypostatica." If, as the Roman Censor says, it was the humanity alone of Christ that obeyed, prayed, and suffered; and if the oblations, prayers, and mediation of Jesus Christ were not operations elicited by the Word but by his humanity alone, so that the hypostatic union had, in fact, added nothing to the humanity, for the completion of the principle of his operations, it follows that the humanity of our Redeemer operated by itself, and doing so must have had subsistence proper to itself, and a proper personality distinct from the Person of the Word, and thus we have, as Nestorius taught, two Persons in Christ.

32.—Such, however, is not the fact. All that Jesus Christ did the Word did, which sustained both Natures, and as God could not suffer and die for the salvation of mankind, he, as the Council of Lateran said, took human flesh, and thus became passible and mortal: "Qui cum secundum Divinitatem sit immortalis et impassibilis, idem ipse secundum humanitatem factus est mortalis et passibilis." It was thus that the Eternal Word, in the flesh he assumed, sacrificed to God his blood and his life itself, and being equal to God became a mediator with God, as St. Paul says, speaking of Jesus Christ: "In whom we have redemption through his blood, the remission of sins; who is the image of the invisible God.....for in him were all things created in heaven and on earth.....Because in him it has well pleased the Father that all fulness should dwell" &c. (Col. i, 13). According to St. Paul, then, it is Jesus Christ who created the world, and in whom the plenitude of the Divinity dwells.

33.—One of Berruyer's apologists says, however, that when his master states, that the humanity alone of Christ obeyed,

(16) St. Thom. *p.* 3, *q.* 19, *a.* 1.

prayed, and suffered, that he then speaks of this humanity as the physical principle *Quo*, that is, the medium by which he operates, and this physical principle belonged to the humanity alone, and not to the Word, for it is through his humanity that he suffered and died. But we answer, that the Humanity, as the principle, *Quo*, could not act of itself in Christ, unless put in motion by the principle, *Quod*—that is, the Word, which was the one only Person, which sustained the two Natures. He it was who principally performed every action in the assumed Humanity, although it was by means of that he suffered, prayed, and died. That being the case, how can Berruyer be defended, when he says that it was the Humanity alone which prayed and suffered? How could he say that the oblations, prayers, and mediation of Christ were operations elicited by the Word? And, what is even of greater consequence, how could he say that the hypostatic union had no influence on the actions of Christ—Nihil omnino contulit unio hypostatica? I said already that the Word was the principal agent in all operations. But, say those of the other side: Then, the Humanity of Christ performed no operations? We answer that the Word did all; for, though the Humanity might also act, still, as the Word was the sole Person sustaining and completing this Humanity, he (the Word) performed every operation both of the soul and body, for both body and soul, by the unity of Person, became his own. Every thing, then, which Jesus Christ did—his wishes, actions, and sufferings—all belonged to the Word, for it was he who determined every thing, and his obedient Humanity consented and executed it. Hence it is that every action of Christ was holy and of infinite value, and capable of procuring every grace, and we are, therefore, bound to praise him for all.

34.—The reader, then, should totally banish from his mind the false idea which Berruyer (as the author of the "Essay" writes) wished to give us of Christ, that the Humanity was a being, existing of itself, to whom God united one of his Sons by nature; for, as will be seen, by referring back to *N.* 11, there must have been, according to him, two natural Sons—one, generated by the Father from all eternity; the other, in time, by the whole Trinity; but, then, Jesus Christ, as he teaches, was not, properly speaking, the Word made incarnate, according to St.

John—"The Word was made flesh"—but was the other Son of God, made in time. This, however, is not the doctrine of the Holy Fathers; they unanimously teach that it was the Word(17). St. Jerome writes: "Anima et Caro Christi cum Verbo Dei una Persona est, unus Christus" (18). St. Ambrose (19), showing that Jesus Christ spoke sometimes according to his Divine, and, at other times, according to his human nature, says: "Quasi Deus sequitur Divina, quia Verbum est, quasi homo dicit humana." Pope Leo says: "Idem est qui mortem subiit, et sempiternus esse non desiit." St. Augustin says: "Jesus Christus Dei Filius est, et Deus, et homo. Deus ante omnia secula, homo in nostro seculo. Deus quia Dei Verbum, Deus enim erat Verbum: homo autem, quia in unitatem personæ accessit Verbo Anima, et Caro.....Non duo Filii, Deus, et homo, sed unus Dei Filius" (20). And, in another place (*Cap.* 36): "Ex quo homo esse cœpit, non aliud cœpit esse homo, quam Dei Filius, et hoc unicus, et propter Deum Verbum, quod illo suscepto caro factum est, utique Deus.....ut sit Christus una persona, Verbum et homo." The rest of the Fathers speak the same sentiments; but it would render the Work too diffuse to quote any more.

35.—The Holy See, then, had very good reasons for so rigorously and so frequently condemning Berruyer's Book; for it not alone contains many errors, in opposition to the doctrines of the Church, but is, besides, most pernicious, because it makes us lose that proper idea we should have of Jesus Christ. The Church teaches that the Eternal Word—that is, the only natural Son of God (for he had but one natural Son, who is, therefore, called the only-begotten, born of the substance of God the Father, the first Person of the Trinity), was made man, and died for our salvation. Berruyer, on the contrary, would have us to believe that Jesus Christ is not the Word, the Son, born of the Father from all eternity, but another Son, which only he and Hardouin knew anything about, or, rather, dreamed of, who, if their ideas were founded in fact, would have the name alone, and the honour of being called the Son of God; for, in order that

(17) St. Hieron. Tract. 49, in Joan.
(18) St. Ambr. ap. St. Leon, in Ep. 134.
(19) St. Leo, Serm. 66.
(20) St. Augu. in Euchirid. *c.* 35.

Jesus Christ should be the true natural Son of God, it was requisite that he should be born of the substance of the Father, but the Christ, according to Berruyer, was made in time by the whole Trinity. The whole idea, then, we had hitherto formed of our Redeemer is totally changed. We considered him to be God, who, for our salvation, humbled himself to take human flesh, in order to suffer and die for us; whereas Berruyer represents him to us, not as a God made man, but as a man made the Son of God, on account of the union established between the Word and his Humanity. Jesus Christ crucified is the greatest proof of God's love to us, and the strongest motive we have to induce, nay, as St. Paul says, to force us, to love him—"For the charity of Christ presseth us" (II. Cor. v, 14)—is to know that the Eternal Word, equal to the Father, and born of the Father, emptied himself, and humbled himself to take human flesh, and die on a cross for us; but, according to Berruyer's system, this proof of Divine love to us, and this most powerful motive for us to love him, falls to the ground. And, in fine, to show how different is Berruyer's errors from the truth taught by the Church: The Church tells us to believe that Jesus Christ is God, made man, who, for us, suffered and died, in the flesh he assumed, and who assumed it solely to enable him to die for our love. Berruyer tells us, on the contrary, that Jesus Christ is only a man, who, because he was united by God to one of the Divine Persons, was made by the Trinity the natural Son of God, and died for the salvation of mankind; but, according to Berruyer, he did not die as God, but as man, and could not be the Son of God at all, according to his ideas; for, in order to be the natural Son of God, he should have been born of the substance of the Father, but, according to Berruyer, he was a being *ad extra*, produced by the whole Trinity, and if he was thus an external product, he could not have been anything but a mere creature; consequently, he must admit two distinct Persons in Christ—one Divine, and one human. In fine, if we held this man's doctrine, we could not say that God "loved us, and delivered himself up for us" (Ephes. v, 2); for, according to him, it was not the Word "who delivered himself up for us," but the Humanity of Christ, honored, indeed, by the union with the Word, that alone it was which suffered, and was subjected to

death. Let him keep these opinions to himself, however, for every faithful Catholic will say, with Saint Paul: "I live in the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and delivered himself for me" (Gal. ii, 20). And we will praise and love with all our hearts that God who, being God, made himself man, to suffer and die for every one of us.

36.—It is painful to witness the distortion of Scripture which Berruyer has recourse to in every part of his work, but more especially in his Dissertations, to accommodate it to his false system, that Jesus Christ was the Son of one God, subsisting in three Persons. We have already (*N.* 7) quoted that text of St. Paul (Phil. ii, 5, &c.): "Let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus, who, being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant," &c. Here is conclusive evidence to prove that the Word, equal to the Father, emptied himself, by taking the form of a servant, in becoming man. Berruyer says, on the contrary, that it was not the Word, not the Divine Nature, which humbled itself, but the human, conjoined with the Divine Nature: "Humiliat sese natura humana naturæ Divinæ physice conjuncta." To consider the Word humbled to become incarnate, and die on the cross, would, he says, be degrading the Divinity; it should, therefore, he says, be only understood according to the communication of the idioms, and, consequently, as referring to the actions of Christ after the hypostatic union, and, therefore, he says it was his Humanity that was humbled. But in that case we may well remark, what is there wonderful in the humiliation of humanity before God? That prodigy of love and mercy which God exhibited in his Incarnation, and which astonished both heaven and earth, was when the Word, the only-begotten Son of God, equal to the Father, emptied himself (*exinanivit*), in becoming man, and, from God, became the servant of God, according to the flesh. It is thus all Fathers and Catholic Doctors understand it, with the exception of Berruyer and Hardouin; and it is thus the Council of Chalcedon, also (*Act.* V.), declared that the Son of God, born of the Father, before all ages, became incarnate in these latter days (*novissimis diebus*), and suffered for our salvation.

37.—We will take a review of some other texts. St. Paul

(Heb. i, 2) says, that God "in these days hath spoken to us by his Son.....by whom he also made the world." All the Fathers understand this, as referring to the Word, by whom all things were created, and who was afterwards made man; but Berruyer explains the passage, "By whom he also made the world," thus: In consideration of whom God made the world. He explains the text of St. John, "By him all things were made," in like manner, that in regard of him all things were made, so that he does not even admit the Word to be the Creator. But hear St. Paul, on the contrary. God, speaking to his Son, says: "Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever.....In the beginning, O Lord, didst thou found the earth, and the works of thy hands are the heavens" (Heb. i, 8, 10). Here God does not say that he created the heavens and the earth in consideration or in regard of his Son, but that the Son himself created them; and hence St. Chrysostom remarks: "Nunquam profecto id asserturus, nisi conditorem Filium, non ministrum arbitraretur, ac Patri et Filio pares esse intelligeret dignitates."

38.—David says: "The Lord hath said to me, thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee" (Psalm ii, 7). Berruyer says that the expression, "This day have I begotten thee," has no reference to the eternal generation, as all understand it, but to the generation in time, of which he is the inventor, when Jesus Christ was made in time the Son of one God, subsisting in three Persons. He thus explains the text, "This day have I begotten thee": I will be your Father, and you will be my Son—that is, according to the second filiation, made by the one God in three Persons, as he imagines.

39.—St. Luke says: "And, therefore, also the Holy which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God" (Luke, i, 35). Berruyer says that these words do not refer to Jesus Christ, as the Word, but as man; for the expression "Holy" is not adapted to the Word, but rather to Humanity. All Doctors, however, understand by the Holy One, the Word, the Son of God, born before all ages. Bossuet sagaciously remarks, that the expression, "Holy," when it is only an adjective, properly speaking, is adapted to the creature; but when, as in the present case, it is a substantive, it means Holiness essentially, which belongs to God alone.

40.—St. Matthew (xxviii, 19) tells us, that Christ said to his disciples: "Going, therefore, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Berruyer says, then, that, by the name of Father, the first Person of the Trinity is not meant, but the God of the Jews—that is, one God, subsisting in three Persons; by the name of the Son, the Word is not understood, but Christ, as man, made the Son of God, by the act by which God united him to the Word. He says nothing at all about the Holy Ghost. Now, by this doctrine the Sacrament of Baptism is not alone deranged, but totally abolished, I may say; because, according to him, we would not be baptized, at first, in the name of the Father, but in the name of the Trinity, and Baptism, administered after this form, as all theologians hold, with St. Thomas, would be null and void (21). In the second place, we would not be baptized in the name of the real Son of God—that is, the Word, who became incarnate, but in the name of that Son, invented by Berruyer, made in time by the Trinity—a Son which never did nor ever can exist, because there never was nor will be any other natural Son of God, unless that only-begotten one, generated from all eternity from the substance of the Father, the Principle, and first Person of the Trinity. The second generation, made in time, or, to speak more exactly, the Incarnation of the Word, did not make Christ the Son of God, but united him in one Person with the true Son of God; that did not give him a Father, but merely a Mother, who begot him from her own substance. Rigorously speaking, this cannot be called generation, for the generation of the Son of God is that alone which was from eternity. The Humanity of Christ was not generated by God, but was created, and was begotten solely by the Virgin Mary. Berruyer says, that the Blessed Virgin is the Mother of God by two titles—first, by begetting the Word; and, secondly, by giving Christ his humanity, since, as he says, the union established between this humanity and the Word has caused Jesus Christ to be made the Son of God. Both reasons, however, are false, for, first, we cannot say that the Blessed Virgin begot the Word, for the Word had no Mother, but only a Father, that is

(21) St. Thomas, 3. *p. qu.* 60, *art.* 8.

God. Mary merely begot the Man, who was united in one Person with the Word, and it is on that account that she, the Mother of the Man, is justly called the true Mother of God. His second reason is equally false, that the Blessed Virgin has contributed, with her substance, to make Jesus Christ become the Son of God, *one subsisting in three Persons*, for, as we have proved, this supposition is totally false, so that, by attributing thus two Maternities to the Blessed Virgin, he does away with it altogether, for one destroys the other. Berruyer mangles several other texts; but I omit them, not to weary the reader with such folly any longer.

§ IV.

THE MIRACLES WROUGHT BY JESUS CHRIST WERE NOT PERFORMED BY HIS OWN POWERS, BUT OBTAINED FROM HIS FATHER, BY HIS PRAYERS.

41.—Berruyer says that Jesus Christ wrought his miracles in this sense alone, that he operated, with a beseeching power, by means of his prayers: "Miracula Christus efficit, non precatio.....prece tamen et postulatione.....eo unice sensu dicitur Christus miraculorum effector." In another place, he says that Christ, as the Son of God (but the Son in his sense—that is, of one God, subsisting in three Persons) had a right, by his Divinity, that his prayers should be heard. Remark the expression, "his prayers." Therefore, according to Berruyer, our Saviour did not work miracles by his own power, but obtained them from God by his prayers, like any other holy man. This doctrine, however, once admitted, we should hold, with Nestorius, that Christ was a mere human person, distinct from the Person of the Word, who, being God, equal to the Father, had no necessity of begging the Father to grant him power to work miracles, since he had all power himself. This error springs from the former capital ones we have refuted—that is, that Christ is not the Word, but is that Son of God existing only in his imagination, his Son merely in name, made in time by God, *subsisting in three Persons*, and, also, that in

Christ it was not the Word that operated, but his Humanity alone: "Sola humanitas obedivit, sola passa est," &c.

42.—He was just as much astray in this proposition, that Christ wrought miracles merely by prayer and supplication, as he was in his previous statements. St. Thomas, the prince of theologians, teaches, "that Christ wrought miracles by his own power, and not by prayer, as others did" (1). And St. Cyril says, that he proved, by the very miracles he wrought, that he was the true Son of God, since he performed them not by the power of another, but by his own: "Non accipiebat alienam virtutem." Only once, says St. Thomas (2), did he show that he obtained from his Father the power to work miracles; that was in the resurrection of Lazarus, when imploring the power of his Father, he said: "I know that thou hearest me always, but because of the people who stand about have I said it, that they may believe that thou hast sent me" (John, xi, 42). But, as the holy Doctor remarks, he did this for our instruction, to show us that in our necessities we should have recourse to God, as he had. St. Ambrose, then, tells us not to imagine, from this fact of Lazarus, that our Saviour prayed to his Father for power to perform the miracle, as if he had not power to work it himself; that prayer, he says, was intended for our instruction: "Noli insidiatrices aperire aures, ut putes Filium Dei quasi infirmum rogare, ut impetret quod implere non possit.....ad præcepta virtutis suæ nos informat exemplo" (3). St. Hilary says just the same; but he also assigns another reason: Christ, he says, did not require to pray, but he did so to make us believe that he was in reality the Son of God: "Non prece eguit, pro nobis oravit, ne Filius ignoraretur" (4).

43.—St. Ambrose (5) remarks, that when Jesus Christ wished, he did not pray, but commanded, and all creatures obeyed—the sea, the winds, and diseases. He commanded the sea to be at rest, and it obeyed: "Peace, be still" (Mark, iv, 39). He commanded that disease should leave the sick, and they were made whole: "Virtue went out from him, and healed all" (Luke, vi, 19). He himself tells us that he could do, and did, every thing equal

(1) St. Thom. 3, *p. q.* 44, *art.* 4.
(2) Idem, ibid, *qu.* 21, *art.* 1, ad 1.
(3) St. Ambros. in Luc.
(4) St. Hilar. *l.* 10, de Trinit.
(5) St. Ambros. *l.* 3, de Fide, *c.* 4.

to his Divine Father: "For whatsoever things he (the Father) doth, these the Son also doth in like manner.....For as the Father raiseth up the dead, and giveth life, so the Son also giveth life to whom he will" (John, v, 19, 21). St. Thomas says (6), that the miracles alone which Christ wrought were sufficient to make manifest the Divine power which he possessed: "Ex hoc ostendebatur, quod haberet virtutem coæqualem Deo Patri." This was what our Lord said to the Jews when they were about to stone him: "Many good works have I showed from my Father; for which of those works do you stone me? The Jews answered him: For a good work we stone thee not, but for blasphemy, and because that thou, being a man, maketh thyself God. Jesus answered them: You say: Thou blasphemest, because I said, I am the Son of God? If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not; but if I do, though you will not believe me, believe the works," &c. (John, x, 32, &c.) We have said enough on this subject.

§ V.

THE HOLY GHOST WAS NOT SENT TO THE APOSTLES BY JESUS CHRIST, BUT BY THE FATHER ALONE, AT THE PRAYER OF CHRIST.

44.—Berruyer says that the Holy Ghost was not sent to the Apostles by Jesus Christ, but by the Father, at his prayer: "Ad orationem Jesu Christi, quæ voluntatis ejus efficacis signum erit, mittet Pater Spiritum Sanctum. Quæ quasi raptim delibavimus de Jesu Christo missuro Spiritum Sanctum, quatenus homo Deus est Patrem rogaturus."

45.—This error is also a necessary consequence of the former ones; that is, Jesus Christ, the Word, did not operate, but the Humanity alone, or the Man made the Son of one God subsisting in three Persons, by reason of the union of the Person of the Word with the Humanity; and from this false supposition he deduces this present falsehood, that the Holy Ghost was not sent by Jesus Christ, but by the Father, at the prayer of Jesus

(6) St. Thom. 3 *p. q.* 43, *art.* 4.

Christ. If he said that the Holy Ghost does not proceed from the Word, but from the Father alone, he would fall into the Greek heresy already refuted (*Ref.* iv); but he rather leans to the heresy of Nestorius, who, admitting two Persons in Christ, a Divine and a human Person, said, consequently, that the Divine Person dwelling in Jesus Christ, together with the Father, sent the Holy Ghost; and the human Person in Christ obtained from the Father, by his prayers, that the Holy Spirit should be sent. Berruyer does not expressly say this; but when he asserts that the Holy Ghost was not sent by Jesus Christ, only by his prayer alone, he appears to believe, either that there is no Divine Person in Christ at all, or that there are two Persons—one Divine, which sends, of himself, the Holy Ghost; the other human, which obtains, by his prayers, that he may be sent. He shows that that is his opinion, when he says that in Jesus Christ it was the Humanity alone that acted and suffered, that is, the Man alone made in time the Son of God by the whole three Persons. This was not, certainly, the Word who was born of the Father alone before all ages. But the Word, he says, was already united to the Humanity of Christ in unity of Person; but then we should remember, that according to his opinion the Word had nothing to do, for it was only the Humanity that acted in Christ. That being the case, of what service was the union of the Word in unity of Person with the Humanity? Merely, as he said, that by means of the hypostatic union Christ might be made the Son of God, of the three Divine Persons; and hence, he says, the operations of Christ were not elicited by the Word, but merely by his humanity, and the hypostatic union gave no value to his actions: "in ratione principii agentis.....unio hypostatica nihil omnino contulit."

46.—With what face could Berruyer assert that the Holy Ghost was not sent by Jesus Christ, when he himself several times said he was, and promised his Apostles that he would send them the Paraclete: "But when the Paraclete cometh, whom I will send you from the Father, the Spirit of truth, who proceedeth from the Father" (John, xv, 26); "For if I go not, the Paraclete will not come to you; but if I go, I will send him to you" (John, xvi, 7). Listen to this! Christ says that he sent the Holy Ghost; and Berruyer says that the Holy Ghost was

not sent by him, but only at his prayer. Perhaps he will argue that Christ himself said: "I will ask the Father, and he shall give you another Paraclete" (John, xiv, 16). But we answer with St. Augustin, that Christ then spoke as man; but when he spoke as God, he said not once, but several times, "whom I will send to you." And again he says: "The Paraclete, the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he will teach you all things" (John, xiv, 26). St. Cyril, explaining this text, says, "in my name," that is, by me, because he proceeds from me. It is certain the Holy Ghost could not be sent unless by the Divine Persons alone, who were his Principle, the Father and the Son. If, then, he was sent by Jesus Christ, there can be no doubt that he was sent by the Word, who operated in Jesus Christ, and the Word being equal to the Father, and with the Father, *co-principle* of the Holy Ghost, had no necessity to pray to the Father (as Berruyer says) that he might be sent; for as the Father sent him, so did he likewise.

§ VI.

OTHER ERRORS OF BERRUYER ON DIFFERENT SUBJECTS.

47.—Those writers who have refuted Berruyer's work remark several other errors which, though they may not be clearly opposed to Faith, still, in my opinion, are most extravagant, and totally opposed to the general opinion of Fathers and Theologians. I will here refute some of the most strange and reprehensible.

48.—In one place he says: "Revelatione deficiente, cum nempe Deus ob latentes causas eam nobis denegare vult, non est cur non teneamur saltem objecta credere, quibus religio naturalis fundatur." Speaking here of the revelation of the mysteries of the Faith, he says, that should no such revelation be made to us, we are, at all events, obliged to believe those objects on which natural religion is based. And then he assigns the reasons subsequently: "Religio pure naturalis, si Deus ea sola contentus esse voluisset, propriam fidem, ac revelationem suo habuisset

modo, quibus Deus ipse in fidelium cordibus, et animo inalienabilia jura sua exercuisset." Now the extravagance of this doctrine is only equalled by the confused manner in which it is stated. It would appear that he admits that true believers can be found professing mere natural religion alone, which, according to him, has, in a certain way, its own faith, and its own revelation. Then in mere natural religion there must be a faith and revelation with which God is satisfied. But, says Berruyer's friend, he intends this a mere hypothesis; but this does not render it less objectionable, for it would lead us to believe that God would be satisfied with a religion purely natural, without faith in the merits of Jesus Christ, and sufficient to save its professors. St. Paul answers this, however, for he says: "Then Christ died in vain" (Gal. ii, 21.) If natural religion be sufficient to save those who neither believe nor hope in Jesus Christ, then he died in vain, for man's salvation. St. Peter, on the contrary, says that salvation can only be obtained in Christ: "Neither is there salvation in any other. For there is no other name under heaven given to men whereby we must be saved" (Acts, iv, 12). If any infidels, either under the New or Old Law have been saved, it has only been because they knew the Grace of the Redeemer, and hence St. Augustin says that it was granted to no person to live according to God, and save his soul, to whom Jesus Christ has not been revealed, either as promised or already come: "Divinitas autem provisum fuisse non dubito, ut ex hoc uno sciremus etiam per alias Gentes esse potuisse, qui secundum Deum vixerunt, eique placuerunt, pertinentes ad spiritualem Jerusalem: quod nemini concessum fuisse credendum est, nisi cui divinitus revelatus est unus Mediatur Dei, et hominum homo Christus Jesus, qui venturus in carne sic antiquis Sanctis prænunciabatur, quemadmodum nobis venisse nuntiatus est" (1).

49.—This is the faith required for the just man to live always united with God: "The just man liveth by faith," says the Apostle: "But that in the law no man is justified with God it is manifest, because the just man liveth by faith" (Gal. iii, 11). No one, says St. Paul, can render himself just in the sight of God, by the law alone, which imposes commandments, but gives no

(1) St. Aug. *l.* 18 de C. D. *c.* 47.

strength to fulfil them. Neither can we, since the fall of Adam, fulfil them merely by the strength of our free will; the assistance of Grace is requisite, which we should implore from God, and hope for through the mediation of our Redeemer. "Ea quippe fides," says St. Augustin (2), "justos sanavit antiquos, quæ sanat, et nos, idest Jesu-Christi, fides mortis ejus." In another passage he tells us the reason of this (3): "Quia sicut credimus nos Christum venisse, sic illi venturum; sicut nos mortuum, ita illa moriturum." Where the Jews went astray was in presuming, without prayer, or faith in a Mediator to come, to be able to observe the law imposed on them. When God commanded Moses to ask them if they wished to perform all that he would reveal to them, they answered: "All that the Lord hath spoken, we will do" (Exod. xix, 8). But after this promise our Lord said to them: "Who shall give them to have such a mind to fear me, and to keep all my commandments at all times?" (Deut. vi, 29). They say that they desire to fulfil the commandments, but who will give them power to do so? By this God means that if they had the presumption to hope to fulfil them, without praying for Divine assistance, they could never accomplish it. Hence it was that immediately after they forsook the Lord, and adored the golden calf.

50.—The Gentiles, who, by power of their own wills alone expected to make themselves just, were even more blind than the Jews. What more has Jupiter, says Seneca, than other good men, only a longer life: "Jupiter quo antecedit virum bonum? diutius bonus est. Sapiens nihilo se minoris æstimat, quod virtutes ejus spatio breviore clauduntur" (4). And again he says Jupiter despises worldly things, because he can make no use of them, but the wise man despises them, because it is his will to do so: "Jupiter uti illis non potest, Sapiens non vult" (5). A wise man, he says, is like a God in every thing, only that he is mortal: "Sapiens, excepta mortalitate, similis Deo" (6). Cicero said we could not glory in virtue, if it was given to us by God: "De virtute recte gloriamur, quod non contingeret, si id donum

(2) St. Aug. de Nat. et Grat. *p.* 149.
(3) St. Aug. de Nupt. et concup. *l.* 2, *p.* 113.
(4) Seneca, Epist. 73.
(5) Idem, de Constantia Sap. *c.* 8.
(6) Idem, Epist. 53.

a Deo, non a nobis, haberemus" (7). And again he says: "Jovem optimum maximum appellant, non quod nos justos, sapientes efficiat, sed quod incolumes, opulentos," &c. See here the pride of those wise men of the world, who said that virtue and wisdom belonged to themselves, and did not come from God.

51.—It was this presumption which blinded them more and more every day. The most learned among their sages, their philosophers, as they had a greater share of pride, were the most blind, and although the light of nature taught them to know that there was but one God, the Lord and Creator of all things, still, as the Apostle says, they did not avail themselves of it to thank and praise God as they ought: "Because that, when they knew God they have not glorified him as God, or given thanks: but became vain in their thoughts, and their foolish heart was darkened. For professing themselves to be wise they became fools" (Rom. i, 21). The presumption of their own wisdom increased their folly. Nay, so great was their blindness that they venerated as Gods not only their fellow-mortals, but the beasts of the field: "And they changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the likeness of the image of a corruptible man, and of birds and of four-footed beasts and of creeping things" (*ver.* 22.) Hence it was that God deservedly abandoned them to their own wicked desires, and they slavishly obeyed their most brutal and detestable passions: "Wherefore God gave them up to the desires of their heart, unto uncleanness," &c. (*ver.* 24). The most celebrated among the ancient sages is Socrates, who, it is said, was persecuted by the Idolaters, for teaching that there was but one supreme God, and still he called them who accused him of not adoring the gods of his country calumniators, and ordered his disciple Zenophon before his death to sacrifice a cock he had in his house in honor of Esculapius. St. Augustin tells us (8) that Plato thought sacrifices ought to be offered to a multiplicity of gods. The most enlightened among the Gentiles, the great Cicero, though he knew there was only one supreme God, still wished that all the gods recognised in Rome should be adored. Such is the wisdom of the sages of Paganism, and such is the faith and natural religion of the

(7) Cicero de Nat. Deor. *p.* 253. (8) St. Aug. de Civit. Dei, *l.* 8, *c.* 12.

Gentiles which Berruyer exalts so much that he says that it could, without the knowledge of Jesus Christ, make people good and innocent, and adopted children of God.

52.—We now proceed to examine the other foolish opinions of this work. He says: "Relate ad cognitiones explicitas, aut media necessaria, quæ deficere possent, ut evcherentur ad adoptionem filiorum, dignique fierent cælorum remuneratione, præsumere debemus, quod viarum ordinariarum defectu in animabus rectis ac innocentibus bonus Dominus cui deservimus, attenta Filii sui mediatione, opus suum perficeret quibusdam omnipotentiæ rationibus, quas liberum ipsi est nobis haud detegere" (9). He says, then, that when the means necessary for salvation are wanting, we ought to presume that God will save the souls of the upright and innocent, by certain measures of his omnipotence, which he has not revealed to us. What an immensity of folly in few words. He calls those souls upright and innocent who have no knowledge of the means necessary for salvation, and, consequently, know nothing of the mediation of the Redeemer—a knowledge of which, as we have seen, has been, at all times, necessary for the children of Adam. Perhaps, these upright and innocent souls were created before Adam himself, for, if they were born after his fall, they are undoubtedly children of wrath. How, then, can they be exalted up to the adoption of the children of God, and, without faith in Jesus Christ (out of whom there is no salvation), and without Baptism, enter into heaven, and enjoy the beatific vision of God? We have always believed, and do still, that there is no other way of obtaining salvation, but by the mediation of Christ. He himself says: "I am the way, the truth, and the life" (John, xiv, 6). And again: "I am the door; by me, if any man go in, he shall be saved" (John, x, 9). St. Paul says: "For by him we have access to the Father" (Ephes. ii, 18). Berruyer, however, tells us that there is another way—a hidden one, by which God saves those upright souls who live in the religion of nature—a way, of which neither Scripture, Fathers, nor Ecclesiastical Writers tell us anything. All Grace and hope of salvation is promised to mankind, through the mediation of Jesus Christ. If you read Selvaggi, the Annotator of

(9) Berruyer, *t.* 1, *p.* 58.

Mosheim (10), you will see that all the Prophecies of the Old Testament, and even the historical facts narrated, all speak of this in a prophetic sense, as St. Paul says: "These things were done in a figure" (I. Cor. x, 6). Our Saviour himself proved to the disciples, in the journey to Emmaus, that all the Scriptures of the Old Law spoke of him: "Beginning at Moses and all the Prophets, he expounded to them in all the Scriptures the things that were concerning him" (Luke, xxiv, 27). And still Berruyer says, that souls, under the Law of Nature, were adopted as Children of God, without any knowledge of the mediation of Jesus Christ.

53.—How could those persons obtain the adoption of the children of God without Jesus Christ, when it is he who has given to the Faithful the power "to become the children of God." Berruyer says: "Quod adoptio prima, eaque gratuito, cujus virtute ab Adamo usque ad Christum, intuitu Christi venturi fideles omnes sive ex Israel, sive ex Gentibus facti sunt filii Dei, non dederit Deo nisi filios minores semper et parvulos usque ad tempus præfinitum a Patre. Vetus hæc itaque adoptio præparabat aliam, et novam quasi parturiebat adoptionem superioris ordinis." He then admits two adoptions—the first and the second. The latter is that which exists in the New Law; the former, that by which all those who have received the Faith among the Jews or Gentiles, in regard to the promised Messiah, and these were only, as it were, younger children of God, minors. This ancient adoption, he said, prepared, and, we may say, brought forth, another one of a superior order; but those who were adopted under this ancient one, scarcely deserved to be named among the faithful—"Vix filiorum nomen obtinerent." It would take volumes to examine all the extravagant opinions and extraordinary crotchets of this writer, which were never heard of by Theologians before. The adoption of children of God, as St. Thomas says (11), gives them a right to a share in his birthright—that is, Eternal Beatitude. Now, supposing Berruyer's system to be true, as the ancient adoption was of an inferior order, we ask, would it give a right to entire beatitude, or only to an inferior or partial sort, corresponding to the

(10) Selvag. in Mosh. vol. 1, *n.* 68. (11) St. Thom. 3, *p.* *q.* 23, *a.* 1.

adoption? It is quite enough to state such paradoxical opinions, and the reader will perceive that they refute themselves. The truth of the matter is, that there never was but one true Religion, which never had any other object but God, nor no way of approaching to God unless through Jesus Christ. It is the blood of Jesus Christ which has taken away all the sins of the world, and saved all those who are saved, and it is the Grace of Jesus Christ that has given children to God. Berruyer says, that the Natural Law inspired Faith, Hope, and Charity. What folly! These Divine virtues are gifts infused by God; and how, then, could they be inspired by the Law of Nature. Why, Pelagius himself never went so far as that.

54.—In another place, he says: "Per annos quatuor mille quotquot fuerunt primogeniti, et sibi successerunt in heriditate nominis illius, *Filius Hominis*, debitum nascendo contraxerunt." And again: "Per Adami hominum Parentis, et Primogeniti lapsum oneratum est nomen illud, sancto quidem, sed pœnali debito satisfaciendi Deo in rigore justitiæ, et peccata hominum expiandi." Berruyer then says that, for four thousand years, the first-born were obliged to make satisfaction for the sins of mankind. This opinion would bear rather heavy on me, as I have the misfortune to be the first-born of my family, and it would be too hard that I should make atonement, not only for my own manifold sins, but also for the crimes of others. But can he tell us where this obligation is laid down. He appears to think that the law of nature imposed it: "Erat præceptum illud quantum ad substantiam naturale." But no one with a grain of sense will admit this to be a precept of the law of nature, when neither the Scriptures nor the Canons of the Church make any allusion to it. It is not, then, imposed by the law of nature, nor by any positive command of God, for all children of Adam, as well as the first-born, are born with the guilt of original sin (with the exception of our Lord and his Immaculate Mother), and all are equally bound to have themselves cleaned from this stain.

55.—Berruyer leaves the first-born alone, then, and applies this new doctrine of his to our Lord. All those, he says, from whom Jesus Christ sprung were first-born down to Joseph, and hence, in the person of Christ, by the succession inherited from

St. Joseph, all the rights and all the debts of his first-born ancestors was united; but as none of these could satisfy the Divine justice, the Saviour, who alone could do so, was bound to make satisfaction for all, for he was the chief among the first-born, and on that account, he says, he was called the Son of Man. This title, however, St. Augustin says, was applied to our Lord as a title of humility, and not of majority or obligation. As the Son of Man, then, he says, he was the first-born among men; and as the Son of God, he was bound, according to the rigour of justice, to sacrifice himself to God for his glory, and the salvation of mankind: "Debitum contraxerat in rigore justitiæ fundatum, qui natus erat Filius hominis, homo Primogenitus simul Dei Unigenitus, ut se Pontifex idem, et hostia ad gloriam Dei restituendam, salutemque hominum redimendam Deo Patri suo exhiberet." Hence, he says that Christ, by a natural precept, was bound, *ex condigno*, to satisfy the Divine Justice by his Passion: "Offere Se tamen ad satisfaciendum Deo ex condigno, et ad expiandum hominis peccatum, quo satis erat passione sua, Jesus Christus Filius hominis, et Filius Dei præcepto naturali obligabatur." Christ, therefore, he says, as the Son of Man, and the first-born of man, contracted a debt, obliging him, in rigorous justice, to atone to God, by his Passion, for the sins of mankind. We answer, that our Saviour could not, either as Son of Man, or first-born of man, contract this strict obligation to make satisfaction for mankind. He could not be obliged, as the Son of Man, for it would be blasphemous to assert that he incurred original sin: "Accepit enim hominem, says St. Thomas (12), absque peccato." Neither could he be obliged to it, as the first-born among men. It is true, St. Paul calls him the first-born among many brethren; but we must understand in what sense the Apostle applies this term. The text says: "For whom he foreknew he also predestinated to be made conformable to the image of his Son, that he might be the first-born among many brethren" (Rom. viii, 29). The Apostle here instructs us, that those whom God has foreseen will be saved, he has predestined to be made like unto Jesus Christ, in holiness and patience, poor, despised, and persecuted, like him on earth.

(12) St. Thom. 3 *p. q.* 14, *a.* 3.

56.—Berruyer, however, asserts, that according to strict justice Christ could not be the mediator of all mankind, if he was not at the same time Man-God, and the Son of God, and thus make full satisfaction for the sins of man. But St. Thomas says (13) that God could be satisfied in two ways in regard to man's sin, perfectly and imperfectly—perfectly, by the satisfaction given him by a Divine Person, such as was given him by Jesus Christ; imperfectly, by accepting the satisfaction which man himself could make, and which would be sufficient, if God wished to accept it. St. Augustin says those are fools who teach that God could save mankind in no other manner, unless by becoming man himself, and suffering all he did. He could do so if he wished, says the Saint; but then their folly would not be satisfied: "Sunt stulti qui dicunt: 'Non poterat aliter sapientia Dei homines liberare, nisi susciperet hominem, et a peccatoribus omnia illa pateretur. Quibus dicimus, poterat omnino; sed si aliter faceret, similiter vestræ stultitiæ displiceret'" (14).

57.—Such being the case, it is insufferable to hear Berruyer assert that Christ, as the Son of Man, and first-born of man, had contracted, in rigorous justice, the obligation of sacrificing himself to God, by dying for the satisfaction of man's sins, and obtaining salvation for them. It is true in another place he says that the Incarnation of the Son of God was not a matter of necessity, but merely proceeded from God's goodness alone; but then he contradicts himself (see *n.* 55). No matter what his meaning was, one thing is certain—that Christ suffered for us, not because he was obliged to do so by necessity, but of his own free will, because he voluntarily offered himself up to suffer and die for the salvation of mankind: "He was offered because it was his own will" (Isaias, liii, 7). He says himself: "I lay down my life.....no man taketh it away from me, I lay it down of myself" (John, x, 17, 18). In that, says St. John, he shows the extraordinary love he bore to mankind, when he sacrificed even his life for them: "In this we have known the charity of God, because he hath laid down his life for us. This sacrifice of love was called his decease by Moses and Elias on the Mount of

(13) St. Thom. *p.* 3, *ar.* 1, *ad.* 2.

(14) St. August. lib de Agone Christiano, *c.* 11.

Thabor: "They spoke of his decease, which he should accomplish in Jerusalem."

58.—I think I have said enough about Berruyer's errors; the chief and most pernicious of all, the first and third, I have rather diffusely refuted. In these the fanatical author labours to throw into confusion all that the Scriptures and Councils teach regarding the great mystery of the Incarnation, the foundation of Christianity itself, and of our salvation.

In conclusion, I protest that all that I have written in this Work, and especially in the Refutation of Heresies, I submit to the judgment of the Church. My only glory is, that I am her obedient child, and as such I hope to live and die.



END OF THE REFUTATION.

EXHORTATION TO CATHOLICS.

Dear Reader—Leave heretics in their wilful blindness—I mean wilful when they wish to live deceived—and pay no attention to the fallacies by which they would deceive you. Hold on by the sure and firm anchor of the Catholic Church, through which God has promised to teach us the true faith. We should place all our hope of eternal salvation in the mercy of God and the merits of Jesus Christ our Saviour, but still we should co-operate, ourselves, by the observance of the Divine Commandments, and the practice of virtue, and not follow the opinion of the Innovators, who say that faith alone in the merits of Jesus Christ will save us, without works; that God is the author both of all the good and all the evil we do; that salvation or damnation has been decreed for us from all eternity, and, consequently, we can do nothing to obtain the one or avoid the other. God tells us that he wishes all to be saved, and gives to all grace to obtain eternal salvation; he has promised to listen to those who pray to him, so that if we are lost, it is solely through our own fault. He also tells us that if we are saved it must be by those means of salvation which he has given us, the fulfilment of his holy law, the Sacraments by which the merits of Christ are communicated to us, prayer, by which we obtain the grace we stand in need of; and this is the order of the decree of God's predestination or reprobation, to give eternal life to those who correspond to his grace, and to punish those who despise it.

The devil always strives to deceive heretics, by suggesting to them that they can be saved in their belief. This was what Theodore Beza said to St. Francis de Sales, when hard pressed by him on the importance of salvation: "I hope to be saved in my own religion." Unhappy hope! which only keeps them in error here, and exposes them to eternal perdition hereafter, when the error cannot be remedied. I think the danger of eternal

perdition, by dying separated from the Church, should be a sufficient motive to convert every heretic. It was this that made Henry IV. forsake Calvinism, and become a Catholic. He assembled a conference of Catholics and Calvinists, and after listening for a time to their arguments, he asked the Calvinistic Doctors if it was possible a person could be saved in the Catholic faith; they answered that it was; "then, said the king, if the faith of the Roman Church secures salvation, and the Reformed faith is at least doubtful, I will take the safe side, and become a Catholic."

All the misfortunes of unbelievers spring from too great an attachment to the things of this life. This sickness of heart weakens and darkens the understanding, and leads many to eternal ruin. If they would try to heal their hearts by purging them of their vices, they would soon receive light, which would show them the necessity of joining the Catholic Church, where alone is salvation. My dear Catholics, let us thank the Divine goodness, who, among so many infidels and heretics has given us the grace to be born and live in the bosom of the Holy Roman Catholic Church, and let us take heed and not be ungrateful for so great a benefit. Let us take care and correspond to the Divine Grace, for if we should be lost (which God forbid), this very benefit of Grace conferred on us would be one of our greatest torments in hell.

THE END.

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